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## RICHARD BRATHWAITE'S *MERCURIUS BRITANICUS*

Recently there has come into my possession a copy of Richard Brathwaite's play *Mercurius Britannicus* (1641) with marginal notes in a contemporary hand identifying most of the characters with actual persons. Since the accuracy of these identifications can hardly be doubted, I wish to record them in the hope that they may prove of interest to students of Brathwaite, possibly to some future editor.

The play is almost wholly a political satire dealing allegorically with the decision of the twelve judges in the famous Ship-Money Case, precipitated by Hampden in 1637. The plot exhibits the judges under classical names as brought before the bar of justice, severely rebuked, and finally condemned. The scene is Smyrna. A *Prælude* (somewhat in the style of Jonson's Induction) between Palinurus and the Satyr, who is to speak the Prologue, opens the play. Act I pictures the gathering of persons to witness the trial. Two "familiar friends," two philosophers, and two rustics enter respectively, and after satirical comments on the judges, pass into the court-room. Act II, "the doore being opened, the curtaine drawne," presents the trial itself. First, however, the Ghost of Coriolanus delivers a solemn warning to "conferre pure justice." Then the prisoners are summoned one at a time and arraigned; but those judges that are dead appear as ghosts and are leniently dealt with. Throughout the trial the two philosophers in the audience (in the Jonsonian manner) make satirical comments. In Act III, the prisoners are brought together before the bar, and formal sentence is pronounced. Since "hanging is too good for them," they are banished to Ireland! Act IV is a humorous satire on the Puritans. A "conventicle of Plebeians" press into the court-room, pushing forward their spokesman, father Pinner [= Pryne?]. He pleads "First, that wee admit of no order in the Church.

Secondly, that all rites and ceremoniall reliques, to wit, Priests Garments, all sorts of musick bee abolished out of the Church. Lastly that there bee no set forme of prayer." But the Chorus chants: "Away with these triflers. . . . Get you home, follow your own affaires."

The characters identified in my copy are given below. In virtually every case there is clear and decisive internal evidence substantiating the identifications. I shall point out in a few cases examples of this corroborative evidence. Any one who is interested in discovering more should consult Howell's *State Trials*, iii, and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, cccxvi.

*Ghost of Coriolanus*: "Earle of Straford."  
Strafford was executed May 12, 1641.

Who once did flourish and did beare the bell  
In these assemblies, as your selves can tell . . .  
Behold him risen from his ghostly cell  
Him, whom the bosterous Commons could not quell.  
Nor whetted axe, nor Scaffold, nor black-rod.

The twelve prisoners, in the order in which they were summoned, are as follows:

*Claudius*: "Baron Weston Excheqr." Sir Richard Weston, Baron of the Exchequer.

*Cratippus*: "Judge Crawley C: Pleas." Sir Francis Crawley, Judge in the Common Pleas.

*Corticius*: "Judg Barkley K: Bench." Sir Robert Berkley, Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

*Vigeti*: "Judg Vernon C: Pleas." Sir George Vernon, Justice of the Common Pleas. "When he should argue, hee fained himself sick"; "when hee did enter the lists (hee most fortunately lost his arguments in the street)." For a confirmation of these statements see *State Trials*, iii.

*Trivius*: "Baron Trevor Excheqr." Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron of the Exchequer.

*Corvus Acillius*: "Judge Croke K: Bench." Sir George Croke, Justice of the King's Bench. Several puns make this identification clear. Cf.

p. 14: "Crooked Acilius"; and p. 24: "to wit *Curvus Acilius* . . . you had him, I say, for a precedent (although your steps were crooked) yet had you followed Crooke" . . .  
*Joachinus*: "Judge Jones K: Bench." Sir William Jones (d. 1640), Judge of the King's Bench. Described in the play as dead.

*Hortensius*: "Judge Hutton C: Pleas." Sir Richard Hutton (d. 1639), Judge of the Common Pleas. Described as dead, and spoken of with honor. "Hee was so sincere a Guardian of his Actions, that hee lived and died untainted; the memory therefore of so good and worthy a Patron is to bee deplored with perpetuall elegies: he deservedly obtained this title; *An honest Iudge, The poore mans Patron and Protectour*, which title is a greater glory then the empery of the worlds Circumference; hee surprized envy by vertue, and carried honours to his grave." This is in keeping with the facts. Hutton gave judgment in favor of Hampden; and although for the sake of conformity he acquiesced in the decision of the other judges on the legality of the ship-money edict, he made known his private opinion that the edict was illegal.

*Antrivius*: "Baron Denham Excheqr." Sir John Denham (d. 1639), Baron of the Exchequer. Represented in the play as dead.

*Damocles*: "Cheife Baron Davenport Excheqr." Sir Humphrey Davenport, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His conduct in the ship-money case is accurately described.

*Chrysometres*: "Cheife Justice Finch Co: Pleas." Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His flight from the country in 1640 is made much of; and his name is clearly indicated by the constant use of the imagery of bird life. "Hee is flowne into another Countrey; he left his neast for fear hee should have been apprehended in it, ever since his flight the speech is that he sings now in *France*. . . . Let Chrysometres long roost in transmarine parts before hee bee called home, we have too many such parates [parrots], we have been too indulgent to all such birds," etc.

I was puzzled at first by the fact that the twelve judges are here named exactly in the order

in which they argued the case, and in the opposite order of that in which they signed the decision. Later I discovered an explanation of this in the play: "Let them be brought forth in the same order as they did argue . . . we will begin first with the first, from the puny Iudge to the Lord Cheif Iustice."

One other character is identified in a marginal note:

*Gliciscus Horologus*: "Puny Baron Page alias Baron Telclock."

I can find no record of this person, yet the accuracy of the identification seems to be indicated by the passage describing him—which I will quote as a fair example of the satire in the play:

"As for *Gliciscus*, I should rather have said *Gliris*, Judge *Dormant*, you know whom I meane, hee that sits for a sipher on the Bench, the barren Baron that hath little wit, and lesse honesty, because he was your tell-Clock (ô yee purple Iudges) his punishment shall bee to turne Sexton, and bee a Clock-keeper in the Countrey, for his simplicity pleads for temperate punishment."

Perhaps a few other facts about the play may not be out of keeping here.

The title-page of my copy reads: "*Mercurius Britanicus*, or The English Intelligencer. A Tragic-Comedy, AT PARIS. Acted with great Applause. [Ornament.] Printed in the yeare, 1641." The running title is "*Mercurius Britanicus*, or The English Intelligencer"; but prefixed to Act I is a half-title: "The Censure of the Iudges: or The Court Cure." The printer in a note To the Reader says: "If others set forth Editions under this Title, beleeve mee, they are meerly adulterous: This Edition is onely true and genuine; All other sordid and surreptitious."<sup>1</sup>

Other editions, however, were set forth, whether by the same printer or not I cannot determine. In the same year, 1641, four editions of the play in English and two in Latin were issued.<sup>2</sup> Since then, so far as I am aware, the

<sup>1</sup> This same statement appears in the Latin edition.

<sup>2</sup> See *British Museum Catalogue*; Greg records only three editions in English.

English version has not been reprinted; nor does it deserve this honor at the hands of the student of literature. The historian, however, will find the play of considerable interest as reflecting the attitude of the public towards the Ship-Money Edict and the twelve judges concerned. The Latin version has been reprinted in Baron Somers's *Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, 1751 (re-edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1811). This reprint is stated to be from the *Editio Secunda; accuratissimè revisa, castigata, et Præludi perquam faceto decorata*.

Though described on the title-page as having been "Acted with great Applause" (the Latin edition reads "summo cum applausu publici acta") the play seems to be nothing more than a closet drama, and to have been written and circulated as a political pamphlet. The statement on the title-page has little weight. It should be borne in mind, however, that Brathwaite had written plays for public presentation, and that this play, though ill suited to the purpose, may have been actually staged.

The date of composition may be fixed within certain limits. Since the Ghost of Strafford appears as one of the characters, the play must have been written after his execution, May 12, 1641; and since the printing was done in 1641, the composition must have taken place before the close of that year.

Though published anonymously, the play has been commonly assigned to Richard Brathwaite. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, however, does not mention it in discussing that author, nor include it in the list of his works. I should like to call attention to the extraordinarily high tribute paid in the play to Judge Hutton, Brathwaite's godfather and kinsman, to whom Brathwaite addressed his elegy *Astræas Teares*. The passages concerned speak eloquently for Brathwaite's authorship.

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### ZU GOETHE'S *EGMONT*<sup>1</sup>

Um mit H.'s *Frage*, p. 175 unten, zu beginnen: Die Bedeutung der Worte *Jeder Wein setzt Weinstein in den Fässern an mit der Zeit* ist mir nie unklar gewesen: 'Wenn der Mensch älter wird, dann gibt er, und wäre er die offenste und argloseste Natur, sich nicht mehr ganz so offen, so restlos wie er's in der Jugend zu tun gewohnt war. Etwas scheidet sich bei jedem Menschen aus den Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen, die er im Laufe seines Lebens macht, aus und bleibt in seinem Innersten zurück (unsichtbar für andere, wenn auch vielleicht, wie hier, vermutet von ihnen).' — Warum Goethe gerade dies Bild gewählt hat, ist doch klar: 'Etwas schönes,' deutet Egmont leise damit an, 'ist der kleine *Hinterhalt* eigentlich nicht, aber er bildet sich mit Naturnotwendigkeit.' Ganz verständnislos deutet H. 'jeden noch so klaren Wein' mit: *die sonst völlig uneigennützige Haltung beider*. Wie kommt er überhaupt auf beide? Zu *Hinterhalt* vergleiche man Grimm *Wb.*, IV, 2, 1504, 2.

Hätte statt *Weinstein* etwa *Kesselstein* da gestanden ('Jeder Kessel setzt Stein am Boden an mit der Zeit') — der letztere wird auch in Amerika bekannter sein als der erstere — dann würde ich nur an der Art des Bildes, nicht an dem *Anachronismus* Anstoss nehmen. Wenn man alle derartigen Anachronismen — ich bin im Zweifel, ob man das Wort hier überhaupt verwenden soll — aufzeigen wollte, dann dürfte kein einziges Goethe'sches Werk verschont bleiben, — um von grösseren und tieferen Anachronismen zu schweigen. Mir war's übrigens nicht so bekannt — und so wird's den meisten Lesern gehen, auch wenn sie in diesen Dingen, wie ich, etwas Bescheid wissen, — dass erst mit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts der *militärische Gleichschritt*, hauptsächlich in Preussen eingeführt sei. Aber H. fügt ja auch hinzu: *wieder eingeführt*. Er hätte uns darum auch darüber belehren sollen, wo und wann er zuerst aufgenommen war. Offenbar wechselt er hier Marsch und besondere Gelegenheiten, wozu der Einzugszug in, und der Marsch durch

<sup>1</sup> In reference to the article by Lee M. Hollander, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXVI, pp. 174-176.

Städte gehörte, eine Gelegenheit, bei der der Holländer die spanischen Truppen beobachtet haben wird. Doch sehen wir davon ab. Ich habe hier ein Exemplar von *Eines Hochlöblichen Ober-Rheinischen Creyses* — Goethes Vaterstadt gehörte dazu! — *Kriegs-Exercitien*, also vom *Exercierreglement*, wie man heute sagen würde. Wenn es ein heutiger preussischer Leutnant sähe, es käme auch ihm ein Grauen an. Ein paar Auszüge werden nicht unwillkommen sein. Zunächst einer aus dem Abschnitt *Evolution*.

## 1.

Gebet acht / die Evolution zu machen.

Sobald diss Commando gegeben / muss das gantze Battalion stille seyn / ohne zu sprechen / noch andere Bewegungen zu machen / als die so befohlen werden / es seye mit dem Kopff / Leib / Händen und Füßen / und sollen auch den Commandirenden Officier oder Major allezeit ansehen / gleich wie beym Manual schon angewiesen.

## 2.

Traget wohl euer Gewehr.

Müssen das Gewehr / wie beym Manual angewiesen / wohl tragen / so / dass die Glieder und Reihen ihr Gewehr in egaler Linie haben / und behalten / und säubtliches Gewehr / als wann es eines wäre / anzusehen seye.

## 109.

March.

Tretten auff einmahl mit dem lincken Fuss an / und marchiren langsam / biss wieder auff ihren vorigen Platz / observirend / dass in dem letzten Schritt der lincke Fuss voran nieder gesetzt werde / und erwarten das folgende Commando.

Dann noch ein Paragraph aus dem Abschnitt *Unterriecht* / was bey dem Marchiren und Schwencken zu beobachten.

## 8.

Was das Marchiren nun antrifft, so muss der Mann allemahl mit dem lincken Fuss antreten, die Füße wohl aufheben, und das Gewehr wohl tragen, den Kopff wohl hoch halten, keineswegs aber rechts- oder links herum, sondern gerade vor sich sehen; und wann befohlen, recht- oder lincker Hand aufzuschauen, nur das Auge dahin wenden, ein- wie allemahl nicht geschwinder, als

das anderemahl marchiren, aber auch nicht stille stehen, sondern, wann von dem vorderisten mögten in etwas aufgehalten werden, sich wenigstens mit den Füßen bewegen und moviren.

## 16.

Imgleichen wann man noch 100 Schritt von dem Campement ist, oder aber wann man durch ein Haupt-Quartier, oder durch eine Stadt, wo Garnison lieget, marchiren solte, so begeben sich die Tambours wieder an ihre vorige Oerther, imgleichen schultern die Soldaten wiederum ihr Gewehr . . .

Das sind nur ein paar Paragraphen, aus ein paar hundert ausgewählt. Um also den Gleichschritt, die stramm gradaus gerichteten Augen, straffe Geweührhaltung usw. kennen zu lernen, brauchte Goethe nicht erst nach Berlin zu gehen: genau wie heute, hatte man das alles in Frankfurt gerade so schön. Auch sollte man sich doch einmal Goethes Quellen daraufhin ansehen, ob von Albas Truppen dort nicht auch eine ähnliche Schilderung entworfen wird. Jedenfalls darf man nicht eher von einem *Widerwillen des Frankfurters Goethe gegen die preussischen Grenadiere* sprechen, bevor man ihn nicht auf andere Weise nachgewiesen hat. Hier im *Egmont* handelt es sich nur um das Grauen des freien Holländers vor dem Geist, der in dem scharfen Drill der spanischen Soldateska zum Ausdruck kommt, vor der rücksichtslosen Einordnung des Einzelwillens in den von einem Mächtigen dirigierten Gesamtwillen.

Zu der zweiten von den Stellen aus *Egmont*, die H. bespricht, kann ich die Bemerkung nicht bergen, dass solche simplen Sätze überhaupt nicht besprochen werden sollten, selbst wenn sie ein paar des Deutschen offenbar nicht sehr kundige Herausgeber missverstanden haben. Ein jeder Gymnasiast, wenn er nur auf den Gegensatz zwischen der Art Oraniens und Egmonts geachtet hat, weiss, wie der erstere hier seine Worte meint.

Und so ist es auch mit der ersten Stelle. Ich kann mir nicht denken, dass es viele Kenner des Deutschen gebe, die nicht vor der Auffassung, ein selbst verfehlter Schritt sei soviel als ein durch eignes Verschulden verfehlter geschützt wären. Und wenn hundert Kommentatoren den Schnitzer begehen, dann zeigen sie eben alle hundert, dass



sie ihre Hände vom Kommentieren hätten lassen sollen. Hier braucht es keiner grossen syntaktischen Schulung: schon das Gefühl muss einem sagen, dass eine Bildung *selbst verfehelter Schritt* nach Analogie von *selbstgemachte Wurst* usw. unmöglich ist. Nicht mal in ein Wort sind *selbst* und *verfehlt* geschrieben, was doch unbedingt nötig wäre. Natürlich ist H's Auffassung im grossen und ganzen richtig; der Ton hat schnell über die Worte *ja ein selbst* hinwegzugleiten und je zur Hälfte auf *verfehelter* und *Schritt* zu fallen. Im Übrigen bietet jedes Wort H's Anlass zum Widerspruch.

Es liegt keine gewaltsame, um nicht zu sagen unmögliche Wortstellung vor! *Selbst* brauchte sich einzig und allein auf *verfehlt* zu beziehen (*modifizieren* nennt H. das!). *Verfehlt* heisst beinahe soviel wie 'unbeabsichtigt', der Gegensatz wäre also 'beabsichtigt'; 'Ein sogar unbeabsichtigter Schritt', was, pedantisch-arithmetisch angesehen, noch richtiger wäre als 'sogar ein unb. Schritt'. Und wie kühn ist die Behauptung, *es wäre aussichtslos, nach Parallelen für eine solche Sprachwillkür (!) suchen zu wollen*. Jeder, der über eine bescheidene Literaturkenntnis verfügt, vermag sie zu dutzenden beizubringen. *Es wäre aussichtslos . . . suchen zu wollen*: Herr H. sollte seiner eignen Sprache seine Bemühungen zuwenden. Zum Glück ist es *bisher übersehen, dass ein Schritt, den man selbst (und kein anderer) verfehlt, eine böse Tautologie ist!* Ein verfehelter Schritt, eine verfehlt Handlung, kann von mir oder von irgend einem andern herrühren; dass ein Schritt immer von dem getan sein muss, der von ihm spricht, leuchtet mir nicht ein; worin liegt also die Tautologie?

Und nun lese man von dem *etwas (!) kraftgenialischen Satz* und dem ganzen in Absatz 3 herbeicitierten Apparat! Die Stelle ist gewiss *rhythmisch (!)*: Aber *ja selbst ein verfehelter Schritt* ginge nicht an! Andererseits passte es dem Sinne nach sehr hübsch, wenn es hiesse *selbst ein* = 'selbst ein einziger verfehelter Schritt'. Und dass nicht ein *Donnerschlag etc. gemeint* ist, kann gar keinen Einfluss auf das Folgende haben, im Gegenteil: dem umfassenden, riesigen elementaren Ereignis dort wird hier ein einzelnes kleines gegenübergestellt. H. widerspricht sich ja auch selbst, im letzten Satze seines vierten Abschnitts.

Weiter: Dem Fatalismus Egmonts würde es durchaus nicht widersprechen, wenn er auch einen eignen Fehlschritt unter die Möglichkeiten rechnete, die ihn stürzen könnten. Ein merkwürdiger Fatalismus, der diese Möglichkeit ausschliesse! Aber ich frage jetzt: Wer würde denn den Fehlschritt tun? Doch kein anderer, als Egmont selbst! Also schliesst er ihn in die Möglichkeiten ein.

Alles Weitere, was H. über den Fall sagt, soll mit Schweigen bedeckt werden, vor allem der kleine Schlusssatz, mit *Übrigens* anfangend.

Es gibt Stellen im *Egmont*, an denen Interpretationskunst sich mit grösserem Rechte versuchen könnte, als diesen hier. Wo käme man hin, wenn man alle Einfachheiten der Art besprechen wollte!

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#### SOME EGMONT INTERPRETATIONS

In the June issue of *Modern Language Notes* for 1911 Dr. Hollander tries to cast new light upon several passages in Goethe's *Egmont*.

Whether he has succeeded in rescuing the most important passages from the Cimmerian darkness of misinterpretation which he believes has brooded over them hitherto remains to be seen.

Most of us, I fear, will continue to think "ein selbst verfehelter Schritt" a false step for which the person who makes it is responsible, and will not be frightened by any apparition of a 'böse Tautologie.' At any rate, we hardly dare assume that the naturalistic young Goethe would say 'ein selbst verfehelter Schritt' for 'selbst ein verfehelter Schritt' for metrical reasons.

This passage, like a host of others in Goethe's works, looks backward and forward. It is part of the organism of the play, not merely a link in the chain of this particular conversation. It looks back to the passage: "Und wenn ich ein Nachtwandler wäre, und auf dem gefährlichen Gipfel eines Hauses spazierte, ist es freundschaftlich, mich beim Namen zu rufen und mich zu warnen, zu wecken und zu töten?" When under the somnambule spell the self is so controlled and so

limited in its impressions of the outer world, that it takes the dizzy path with precision; when wakened from the trance, the self is brought into complete relation to the outer world, and delivered over to its ordinary judgment of the complex of impressions, therefore becomes confused and uncertain and liable to misstep. Whose the responsibility? His who waked him, or his own? Certainly more directly his own than that of the warner; "Ein selbst verfehltter Schritt."

It looks forward to that crisis in Egmont's remarkable career, when in spite of the amplest warnings he goes confidently into Alba's well-laid trap, and is executed, the victim of his misjudgment of men and political movements. Again whose false step, if not his own?

But Dr. Hollander has other reasons for his very forced interpretation. To ascribe responsibility to Egmont for his misstep, is inconsistent with his fatalism. We might reply, to deny his responsibility, and lay the blame wholly upon Fate, *i. e.*, influences wholly external to himself, as Dr. Hollander seems to understand the term, is to destroy the last vestige of dramatic struggle in the play and degrade it to the level of a pure fate-drama. It is certain that Goethe never intended his spectators and readers to feel that Egmont is not responsible for the rejection of Orange's warnings. He most deliberately rejects that 'fremden Tropfen in seinem Blute' and knowingly seeks the one 'freundliche Mittel' to drive away the cares which Orange's insistent words have caused.

However, 'Schicksal' is not necessarily 'rein äusserlich,' as Dr. Hollander seems to imply. 'Soll ich fallen,' may refer merely to a future possibility, an unexpected eventuality which may nevertheless occur, and does not force us to assume that this fall is to be an act of external fate. There is nothing to exclude 'eigene Schuld' in the assumption of a possible fall.

Philosophically we may be determinists without making the blunder of assuming that human action is wholly conditioned by environment. A person is as much a reality as any lifeless thing, and modifies environment, while at the same time undergoing modification by environment. Human action is always this resultant of personality and environment. Environment, so far as it consists

of inanimate nature, is absolutely determined; so far as it consists of personal wills, it is in the same category with the personality in question, either free or determined. The student of human affairs, who considers inheritance and early education, and realizes what character and habit imply, will be inclined to believe that all human wills are determined, that freedom is a mere figment of the ordinary uninformed intellect. If we believe that human wills are predetermined in volition by inherited character and the training which a home or a community has forced upon them with or without consent, then all human action must be assumed as determined. The fatalism in Goethe's drama is something of this sort. It does not exclude the subjective element, nor the sense of responsibility for what arises out of the subjective element, though the analytic intellect may judge such responsibility a delusion.

The passages in *Egmont* which give expression to the so-called fatalism of Goethe do not involve pure externality of fate. "O was sind wir Groszen auf der Woge der Menschheit? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her." Here the regent is expressing a common delusion, that princes govern their peoples, when in reality they have to shift and drift and do what they can, not always what they will. It is the same notion which Egmont entertains of Alba's coming regency. It does not imply fatalism at all. "Wie von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht, gehen die Sonnenpferde der Zeit mit unseres Schicksals leichtem Wagen durch; und uns bleibt nichts als mutig gefasst die Zügel festzuhalten und bald rechts, bald links, vom Steine hier, vom Sturze da, die Räder wegzulenken." A measure of directive power is left to the individual after all. "Es glaubt der Mensch sein Leben zu leiten, und sein Innerstes wird unwiderstehlich nach seinem Schicksale gezogen." Egmont does not say, and can not and dare not say, 'drawn by external fate.' When Ferdinand says: "Du hast dich selber getötet," Egmont admits, "Ich war gewarnt."

The fate which leads Egmont to ruin is *his own character*. If such a character makes a false step and plunges into ruin, it is certainly 'ein selbst verfehltter Schritt' and we can not make it otherwise by referring to the 'demonic element.' The

demonic element is just this unanalyzable self, this character, this personality, which seems to itself so free, and yet is so bound by its own nature that it works out its own destiny in incalculable ways in union with environment.

It is difficult to see either the 'unspeakable prosiness' of this conception, or a descent from the 'sublime to the ridiculous.'

With respect to the third passage, I fear that Dr. Hollander injects too much subtle meaning into it. Egmont is not talking statecraft or moral philosophy with Klärchen. When the latter refers to Egmont's relations to the regent she is in all probability probing a relationship which Egmont himself later calls 'Freundschaft, die fast Liebe war.' When Egmont declares that the regent always seeks 'Geheimnisse hinter seinem Betragen,' whereas he has none, she asks teasingly (with reference to Egmont's love for herself), 'so gar keine?' He replies, taking her cue: "Eh nun! Einen kleinen Hinterhalt." If this refers to Egmont's love for Klärchen, which is not worn on his sleeve for daws to peck at, then the 'Weinstein' passage does not require such subtle analysis. The meaning must not be beyond the intellectual reach of Klärchen. The simplest interpretation might prove the best. Every individual, in the course of time, enters into various private relations which are nobody else's business. They are the peculiar deposits of the individual's life. Goethe was usually rather fortunate in his use of comparisons, and was well enough acquainted with wine to distinguish between crystals and dregs. The formation of 'Weinstein' does not make the wine 'trübe,' and so the new interpretation rests upon the gratuitous assumption of ignorance on Goethe's part.

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#### A LATIN COUNTERPART OF THE ST. LÉGER STROPHE

The poem of *St. Léger*, which is supposed to have been written at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) in the last part of the tenth century, consists, as we know, of strophes of six octosyllabic lines which

rhyme or assonance two by two ( $\frac{8}{aabbcc}$ ). The musical notation which accompanies it in its single manuscript, and its own expressions also, shows that it was composed for singing.<sup>1</sup> In terms of Latin prosody the verse is iambic dimeter. As a matter of fact, the line presents a regular alternation of unaccented and accented syllables, exception being made for the two lines which begin with "Domine Deu."<sup>2</sup>

Now, because the poem was sung, and also because its nature is religious and hortatory, there is every reason to suppose it was patterned on a model furnished it by some Latin hymn. That the records of Latin hymnology may not have yet disclosed any exact prototype would not constitute any serious objection to this view.<sup>3</sup> For already in the seventh century the Bangor antiphony (about 690) knew a hymn which corresponds quite closely to *St. Léger*, composed as it is of strophes of six octosyllabic lines in monorhyme, with a refrain of two similar lines.<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm

<sup>1</sup> We would recall the words of the first strophe:

Domine Deu devemps lauder  
Et a sos sanex honor porter.  
In su amor cantomps del sanz  
Quae por lui augrent granz aanz.  
Et or es temps et si est biens  
Quae nos cantumps de sant Lethgier.

Graphically this particular strophe would read

200200202, 020200202, etc.

But in the larger number of strophes the first line agrees rhythmically with the other five:

020200202,

so that we would have here an example of what J. B. Beck calls the second form of the first modus (*Die Melodien der Troubadours*, p. 116).

<sup>2</sup> See note 1. This was not Gaston Paris' opinion when he discussed the versification of *St. Léger* in *Romania*, I, pp. 292-296. For at that time he found three different accentual schemes:

20200202, 200200202,

and rarely

020200202.

It is this third scheme, considered least frequent by Paris, which seems to me the standard.

<sup>3</sup> Gaston Paris (*l. c.*) says indeed that there are such models, but fails to cite them. My own reading has been too restricted to be relied upon.

<sup>4</sup> F. E. Warren, *Antiphony of Bangor* (London, 1895), II, p. 37. The first strophe contains eight octosyllabic lines. I quote the second, which offers the regular form:



Meyer, from whom I took this reference, gives the measure of this hymn as iambic dimeter.<sup>5</sup> But it does not observe coincidence of quantity and accent. On the other hand, it consistently reveals four accents to a line in both strophe and refrain, and we might therefore infer a rhythm made up of an alternation of weak and strong tones, or graphically  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ , a rhythm which holds for every strophe. If this inference is correct, the Bangor hymn is not far removed from the tone scheme of *St. Léger*.

Between the end of the seventh century and the end of the tenth there was time and to spare. During this interval we may suppose that devout poets did not fail to write hymns in strophes of six octosyllabic lines with alternation of weak and strong tones. That these compositions were not numerous may be argued from their absence from many standard collections, though this absence may be due to accident only and not to any lack of popularity. But to go further and assume the existence of strophes divided, as the *St. Léger* strophe is, into groups of lines rhyming together, requires more proof than mere correspondence in length of strophe and verse accentuation would furnish. And it is for the purpose of strengthening the general assumption that *St. Léger* had a Latin model that I would call attention to a Latin strophe of like structure and of the same approximate date.

In the year 997 Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims, sent a copy of Boethius' *Arithmetica* to Otto III, the young emperor of Germany. With the volume went also some verse of Gerbert's own. Otto answered the gift with a letter and the archbishop's poetry with a stanza, in which he regrets his deficient training in poetical composition, a deficiency which he promises to atone for in the near future :

Amavit Christus Comgillum,  
Bene et ipse Dominum  
Carum habuit Beognoum  
Domnum ornavit Aedeum,  
Elegit sanctum Sinlanum  
Famosum mundi magistrum.  
Refrain : Quos convocavit Dominus  
Coelorum regni sedibus.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I, p. 221; also Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, p. 112.

Versus numquam composui,  
Nec in studio habui.  
Dum in usu habuero,  
Et in eis viguero,  
Quot habet viros Gallia,  
Tot vobis mittam carmina.<sup>6</sup>

In number of lines to the strophe, in number of syllables to the line and in the arrangement of rhymes Otto's maiden attempt, as we see, is a strict counterpart to the framework of *St. Léger*. Of course there is this difference that Otto's verse was to be read and not sung. And because it was to be read, perhaps, the accentual scheme seems to vary. For the first four lines it would be  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ , for the last two  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$  or  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ ,<sup>7</sup> it being understood that the signs mean accented and unaccented syllables respectively, and not long and short. Now this very variation in the accents of the stanza is a proof of the care with which Otto counted his syllables. They remain the same in number throughout, whatever changes of accents the lines undergo. Otto's model is not known. It could not be one of Gerbert's strophes, for they are metrical. But his model must have resembled, in all essentials, the model of the *St. Léger*, and both models probably belonged to the same period.

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#### PETER BUCHAN AND *IT WAS A' FOR OUR RIGHTFU' KING*

In commenting on Burns's Jacobite song, *It Was A' for Our Rightfu' King*, the editors of the Centenary Edition of Burns's poetry write as follows :

"The facsimile of the ms. of this noble and moving lyric was published in Scott Douglas's Edinburgh Edition; and in stanza v, line 3, there is a deleted reading—'Upon my abs'—showing that Burns changed the line in the

<sup>6</sup> J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1889), p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> Undoubtedly Otto followed the same model as *St. Léger*. For were his strophe to be sung, the lines would show four accents :

$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$  and  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$   
or  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ .



process of copying out. Apart from this, the touch of the master, either as marker or as editor and vamp, is manifest throughout. Yet Hogg, in his *Jacobite Relics*, gravely informs you that 'it is said to have been written by Captain Ogilvie,' of Invergubarity, who fought for James VII at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.<sup>1</sup> Who said it? or when and where was it said? All that Hogg leaves to the imagination. It was certainly not said by either Burns or Johnson (who must have known; for there is no earlier copy than that which was written by Burns, and published in the *Museum*). We can scarce go wrong in assuming that Hogg's informant was Peter Buchan. Now, neither Hogg nor Buchan knew that Burns had sent the thing to the *Museum*. Moreover, his name had never been associated with it. Thus, the ingenious Buchan, still bent on fathering everything on somebody, had full scope for his idiosyncrasy. . . . Moreover, Hogg's statement, not only lacks the thinnest shadow of corroboration, but is demonstrably false; for the song in the *Museum* is modelled on the same originals as *A Red Red Rose*<sup>2</sup>; and these, as we have seen, trace back to the blackletter *Unkind Parents*, published, as Mr. Ebsworth points out

(*Roxburghe Ballads*, VII. 554), before Captain Ogilvie could ever have 'turn'd him right and round about Upon the Irish shore.'"<sup>3</sup>

The rest of the note in the *Centenary* deals with the relations between Burns's lyric and the chap-book ballad *Mally Stewart*, and shows clearly the use Burns made of the earlier song.

The passage in this note to which I wish to call attention, is that which ascribes to Peter Buchan the "fathering" of the song upon Captain Ogilvie. This ascription, I am convinced, is quite unwarranted, for if Buchan had ever thought of Ogilvie in this connection, he could hardly have failed to make some reference to him in the notes to the song, a version of which is among the unpublished pieces in the Harvard University, *Buchan Ms.* no. 25241. 10. 5.<sup>4</sup> Neither this redaction nor Buchan's comment on it has ever been published, so far as I can ascertain. I therefore reprint them entire, placing Burns's *Museum* version, the original, parallel.

## BUCHAN

It's for our gude an' rightfu' king,  
I cross'd fair Scotland's strand;  
It's for our gude an' rightfu' king  
I e'er saw Irish land, my dear,  
I e'er saw Irish land.

Now a' is dane that can be dane,  
And a' is dane in vain;  
Fareweel my luve an' native land,  
Now I maun cross the main, my dear,  
Now I maun cross the main.

## BURNS

It was a' for our rightfu' king  
We left fair Scotland's strand;  
It was a' for our rightfu' king,  
We e'er saw Irish land,  
My dear—  
We e'er saw Irish land.

Now a' is done that men can do,  
And a' is done in vain,  
My love and Native Land fareweel,  
For I maun cross the main,  
My dear—  
For I maun cross the main.

<sup>1</sup> Hogg's note, vol. I, p. 186, reads as follows: "This song is traditionally said to have been written by a Captain Ogilvie, related to the house of Invergubarity, who was with King James in his Irish Expedition, and was in the battle of the Boyne. He was a brave man, and fell in an engagement on the Rhine." The rest of Hogg's note has no reference to the authorship of the song.

<sup>2</sup> It is hard to see why the editors drag in these various songs, which surely did contribute to *A Red Red Rose*, as models for *It Was A' for Our Rightfu' King*, when the relationship between the latter and *Mally Stewart*, is, as

they point out, much closer. At least, the word "modelled" is misleading.

<sup>3</sup> *Centenary*, III. 433. In this connection one is tempted to ask whether, if the *Unkind Parents* was certainly published before Captain Ogilvie reached Ireland, he might not have used it as a model, supposing him, for the moment, to have written the song?

<sup>4</sup> This MS. contains material which Buchan published as *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1828, and a number of pieces which he withheld from the press.

He turn'd his high horse head about  
 All on the Irish shore ;  
 An' gae the bridal reins a shake,  
 Says,—Adieu for evermore, my dear,  
 Says,—Adieu for evermore.

Now sodgers frae the wars return,  
 An' sailors frae the main ;  
 But I maun part wi' my true love,  
 Nae mair to meet again, my dear,  
 Nae mair to meet again.

Fan day is gane, an night is come,  
 An' a fa'in fast asleep ;  
 I maun spend my silent hours  
 For my true love to weep, my dear,  
 For my true love to weep.<sup>5</sup>

Buchan's note is as follows :

"This beautiful ballad I took down from the recitation of old James Ranken, who had learned it in his early years. My reason for particularizing the reciter of this ballad more than any of the others is, that since it was taken down, I have found a copy of it very much alike, in the notes to Canto third of *Rokeby*, a Poem,<sup>7</sup> from which some people might have imagined I had copied it. The author of *Rokeby*, Walter Scott, Esq., now Sir Walter Scott, seems to think this ballad relates to the fortunes of some follower of the Steuart family. How far the worthy baronet is right, I will not pretend to say. Everyone has a right to judge, though not condemn, as he pleases."<sup>8</sup>

The existence of this "Rankinized" version of Burns's song,—for there can be no doubt, I believe, that the stanzas Rankin recited are simply clumsily disguised plagiarisms,<sup>9</sup>—and of

<sup>5</sup> Buchan MS., p. 729.

<sup>6</sup> *Centenary*, III, 182.

<sup>7</sup> This is Burns's song, of which Scott seems unconsciously to have lifted four lines. He printed the entire song in his notes. See the Oxford edition of Scott's poems, p. 394.

<sup>8</sup> Buchan MS., Notes, p. 219.

<sup>9</sup> If one were inclined to believe in the genuineness of the version which Buchan himself later came to suspect, a fact indicated by his suppressing the song when he published his two volumes in 1828, I should point out to him (1) that the song does not appear in print till Vol. v of the *Museum* was published, in 1796, before which time no one seems to have dreamed of its existence; (2) that the differences between the two versions in stanza 3, line 1, and in stanza 5, lines 1 and 2, indicate pretty

He turn'd him right and round about  
 Upon the Irish shore,  
 And gae his bridle reins a shake,  
 With adieu for evermore,  
 My dear—  
 And adieu for evermore!

The sodger frae the war returns,  
 The sailor frae the main,  
 But I hae parted frae my love  
 Never to meet again,  
 My dear—  
 Never to meet again.

When day is gane, and night is come,  
 And a' folk bound to sleep,  
 I think on him that's far awa  
 The lee-lang night, and weep,  
 My dear—  
 The lee-lang night and weep.<sup>6</sup>

Buchan's note, is interesting, since it relieves Buchan of responsibility for the Ogilvie myths. He will not "even pretend to say" whether or not the song refers to the fortunes of the Stuarts; had he dreamed of foisting the lyric upon the unfortunate cavalier, surely he would not have written as he did in his ms.

As a matter of fact, Buchan does not seem to have been guilty of intentional misrepresentation concerning the songs and ballads he published. James Rankine, the blind beggar whom he hired as collector, was notoriously untrustworthy, and occasionally deceived his employer. But Buchan intended to be honest. James Hogg, on the other hand, delighted in deception; his *Jacobite Relics* are full of egregious misstatements. To him we may safely look as the author of the Ogilvie legend, but not to Peter Buchan, whose name the editors of the *Centenary Burns* seem pleased to connect with Hogg's.

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clearly that Burns's version is the older. In these lines Burns was using, quite characteristically, the ordinary language of the popular ballads. (For examples of "turning right and round about" see *Young Hunting*, A, 16; *Willie and Lady Maisie*, B, 15; *Johnie Scot*, A, 14; *James Harris*, F, 3; for parallels to the other lines referred to consult Prof. Child's list of commonplaces.) The changes must have been made for the purpose of disguise. Were it necessary, more arguments to the same effect might easily be added.

A MEDITATION UPON DEATH, FOR  
THE TOMB OF RALPH, LORD  
CROMWELL (C. 1450),  
LORD TREASURER  
OF ENGLAND

(O Mors, Quam Amara est Memoria Tua)  
MS. B. M. Harley, 116, fols. 152b-153b.

fol. 152b]

1

O] deth, hough better ys the mynde of the,  
That mover arte of moornyng & of moon;  
Thou myndly myrrour, in whom all olde may see  
The ways of youthe, in which thai haue mysgone.  
5 Thou arte the same remembrauncer allone,  
Whom all astates and euery lawe degre  
With daily diligence owe to awaite vpon,  
For when thou clepiste all muste go with the.

2

Nought may preuayle, pompous prosperite,  
10 Honour, ne heele, gemme ne precious stone,  
Renoun, riches, rent, ne rialte,  
For all that euer haue be of fleshe & bone  
Thou hast, and wolt consume, not leuyng oon,  
Who is alyve that can remembre thee  
15 That ar preserued? y finde two allone,  
Ennok and Ely, yit shall thai go with the.

3

For in the oure of oure natiuite  
Thi subtile entre vs perseth euerychone,  
With cley m continuell chalenge thi fe,  
20 And euery day we muste waite here vpon,  
And while we lyve; yit haue we odir foon,  
The feende, the flesh, and worldly vanite,  
Cotidiane corasy, continginge euer in oone,  
Oure cely soule vnceasingly to sle.

4

25 Popes and prelates stand in perplexite,  
And curyus clarkis, forth with the thai gone,  
Crowned conquerours and odir of law degre,  
Knyghtly in hir tymes; thou sparith noon,  
Marchauntes, men of lawe, all vnder oone,  
30 Leches, laborers, fayne wolde fro the fle,  
fol. 153a]

Full wyse is he that can thinke her vpon,  
And for him selfe provide, who so he be.

5

Beholde this myrrour in thi mynde, & se  
This worldis transsitorie Joy that sone is gone,  
35 Which in effecte is but aduersite,  
And of tway weys thou nedis must take oone.  
Thenk of fre choise, god hath the lent allone

With witte and reson to reule thi liberte,  
Yif thou go mys, odir blame thou none,  
40 Thi selfe arte cause of all that grevith the.

6

O ye, that floure in hie felicite,  
For crystes sake remembreth her vpon,  
Thenke that as fresh and lusty as ye be,  
Er thei wer war, full sodanly haue gone,  
45 For odir warnyng in this world is none,  
But mynde of deth or sore infirmite;  
When thou lest wenest, thou shalt be calde vpon,  
For of thine houre thou woste no certeinte.

7

This worthi lorde, of very polyce,  
50 Sir Raufe lorde Cromwell, remembreth her vpon,  
For all his lordshipp and gret stately se  
Knowinge, by resoun, of oder rescous none,  
For all his castelles & toures hie of stone,  
For him, and for my lady, like as ye se,  
55 This towmebe prouyded, ayen that thei shall gone,  
In gracios oure gode graunte hir passage be!

8

Muse in this mirrou of mortalite,  
Bothe olde and yonge, that loken her opon,  
Lyfte vp your hertly eie, be-holde and se  
60 These same right worthi, restinge vnder the stone,  
Deuoutly pray for hem to criste allone 153b]  
That gyltes for hir gylte sterfe on a tre,  
Hem to preserue from all hir gostely foon,  
And send hem pees in perpetuite.

Amen.

Collation of MS. B. M. Cotton, Caligula, A, II,  
fols. 55b-56a.<sup>1</sup>

1 how. bytter. 2 meure. mornyng. mone. of  
[2] om. 3 mynly. old. se. 4 wayes. whych. goon.  
5 art. remembrauncer] C. remembrance H. aloon.  
6 states (sic). (given as doates in Varnhagen's  
text, and naturally "ganz unverständlich"! )  
low. 7 dayly. dylygence. weyte. 8 whan. clepest.  
goo. 9 pompys ne prosperyte. 10 hele. precyous.  
11 ryches. ryalte. 12 For] But C. flesch. 13 wylt.  
leugngoos] C. lyvinge H. 14 kan. 15 fynde. but  
two aloon. 16 3yt shall they. 17 yn. natyuyte.  
18 They. sotell. perschet. euerychon. 19 Wyth.  
cley m] C. clene H. contynuell. chalyngyng. py.  
20 most. wayte. ther. 21 The whyle. 3yt. we]  
om. C. oper. 22 fende. flesch. wordly vanyte.  
23 Cotydyane corosy contynuyng euer yn oon.

<sup>1</sup> Printed from Caligula—without knowledge of the  
Harley text—by H. Varnhagen in *Anglia* VII, Anzeiger  
85.

24 sely. vnseingly. 25 and] om. yn. prosperyte.  
 26 curyous clerkes. they. 27 low. oper. 28 pat  
 wer ryzt knyztly yn har tyme. spareth non. 29  
 oon. 30 labereres. fayn. wold. 31 kan. thenk.  
 32 hymself. prouyde. who that. 33 Behold. thys.  
 withyn thyself and. 34 Thys. world ys transsi-  
 torie. Joye. gon. 35 Which yn. ys. aduersyte.  
 36 two wayes. most nedyst. chese oon. 37 choyes.  
 lent] yeue. alon. 38 wyt. rule. thy lyberte. 39  
 goo mysse. other. non. 40 Thy self. art. all,  
 etc.] thyn ynyquyte. 41 Oo. yn hye felycyte.  
 42 remembryth. apon. 43 Thenk. that] om.  
 flesch. and] as. lusty folke as ye. 44 they. wher  
 war. sodenly. hau. 45 other. yn thys. ys. non.  
 46 mynd. yfyrmyte. 47 And whan ye leest wene  
 ye way. calde apon. 48 your tyme ys sette non  
 serteynte. 49-56 C. omits this stanza. 57 Thys.  
 myrrour. mortalyte. 58 old. yong. loketh apon.  
 59 eye. behold. 60 Thenk all mankend schall  
 reste vnder erthe & stone. 61 Therefor I pray  
 me. cryste alon. 62 That for our alther gylt deyde  
 vpon a tre. 63 Vs. fro. ovr. gostly for. 64 vs.  
 yn. perpetuyte. Amen For charite.

*Note.*—There were three Cromwells, father, son, and grandson who bore the Christian name Ralph. Their seat was at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, twelve miles northwest of Boston. The Norman castle was rebuilt by Sir Ralph 3d, in the reign of Henry VI. He likewise erected a lofty tower, with a spiral staircase, four miles to the north of his castle. The reference in line 53 seems therefore to point directly to this baron, who was much the most prominent man of the three, rising to be Treasurer of the Realm. In 17 Henry VI, Lord Cromwell founded the College of Tattershall, an act of piety which may well have commended him to the priestly writer of these lines. Associated with him in this was Judge William Paston (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, vi, 1432) who was, I have elsewhere tried to show, a patron of Lydgate. This Lydgatean poem, while probably not by the monk, is strongly reminiscent of his work, and apparently influenced by his *Dance of Machabree*.

Sir Ralph's tomb, though not in its original position, and sadly mutilated, is still in the Church of his College. While our poem is the only evidence that the tomb was erected during his life-

time, it is known that his niece's tomb was so erected, from a clause in her will, and from the cutting of the date of her decease. The practice was common. The inscription on Sir Ralph's tomb, half of which is lacking, as one brass plate is gone, reads as follows:

Hic jacet Nobilis Barō Radulphus Cromw  
 [ell Miles dñs de Cromwell quōdā Thesaurarius]  
 Anglie et fundator huius Collegii cum inclite  
 [Consorte sua Margareta et una hered' dñi dayncourt]  
 qui quidm Radulphus obiit quarto die mēs Jan-  
 [uarii Anno dñi Millio CCCC LVº Et p'dict Margareta]  
 obiit XVº die mēs Septēbre Anno dñi Millio CC  
 [CC liiii Quor' aiābs p'picietur Deus Amen.]

The Caligula text, printed by Varnhagen in *Anglia* years ago, lacks the all-important stanza about the Cromwells, and otherwise alters the poem to admit of a general application. It is evident that the poem in the earlier form was written to hang by the tomb until the inscription should be needed to record the demise of its builders. So far as I know, this is the only specimen in English mediæval literature of this use of poetry. Many of Lydgate's pieces were written to hang before images such as a crucifix, a "Pity," or the like; but none for this purpose. A representation of the Dance of Death may have accompanied the Cromwell poem.

A second unique feature of this poem is its rhyme-scheme a b a b b a b a, with the whole poem written on two rhymes.

I am indebted to the Rev. F. M. Yglesias, rector of Tattershall, for the tomb inscription and other details concerning it.

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*Three Philosophical Poets—Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe.* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol. I.) By GEORGE SANTAYANA. Harvard University, 1910. Pp. viii + 215.

"Comparative Literature" is a notoriously unhappy term to have been devised (or mis-translated) by reputable scholars, in order to designate the study of the intellectual relations between different peoples. But the name chances



to have a somewhat literal applicability to the volume with which the new series founded by Professor Schofield auspiciously opens. Professor Santayana's book is a contribution rather to literature than to learning. It is a comparison and criticism of three typical criticisms of life, written by a somewhat untechnical and temperamental philosopher who is also a poet and a master of English prose style. The author is, indeed, hardly so innocent of erudition, at least in the section on Dante, as in his preface he modestly gives himself out to be. But 'scholarship' is for Mr. Santayana a means to an end, and a means not to be accumulated beyond the requirements of the end. It is the fruit of reflection, not of research, that he offers. It is, perhaps, not wholly fortunate that the book is published as one of a series of learned works, since it is on that account a little less likely to reach the general public. And though it is a book which no specialist in Lucretius or Dante or Goethe can afford to leave unread, it should appeal also to a far wider circle of readers.

The criticism is by no means impressionistic. It has behind it the matured philosophy of the five volumes of *The Life of Reason*. That philosophy has been described as a humanistic materialism. Primary in it is a radical cleavage between facts and values, reality and human ideals. Nature is an exclusively mechanical system. Yet upon it, or within it, there has somehow supervened a system of values:—the preferences, tastes, rational estimates of good and bad, characteristic of man's mental life. To all natural processes these evaluations are curiously irrelevant; for in his most consistent moments Mr. Santayana recognizes that even human nature in all its external expressions is but a part of nature, and therefore a part of the cosmic machine; "consciousness" (of which volition is an aspect), he has said, is merely "a lyric cry in the midst of business." Yet it would be too much to expect a mechanistic philosopher who is also a moralist to adhere to the rigor of this doctrine; upon human action his ideals are after all meant to have a bearing, and from the actual make-up of human nature they derive their content. But with respect to external nature, at least, those ideals are wholly autonomous; man is not called upon to feel any promiscuous piety

towards things as they are. Mr. Santayana's own scale of moral and æsthetic values is not such as usually goes with a *realwissenschaftlich*, mechanistic philosophy. With a Democritic metaphysics he combines an Aristotelian ethics—*minus* the residuum of Platonic otherworldliness that survives even in Aristotle. By what he calls "the illusion of progress," Mr. Santayana does not suffer himself to be deceived; and for the romantic restlessness and the romantic sentimental egoism his aversion is extreme. His notion of the good is of an essentially static and quasi-æsthetic sort:—a life lived liberally and filled with interests in objective ends and impersonal values, but lived also with restraint and discipline, with a certain Greek sense of the limitations of human existence, and without illusions about oneself or humanity or the universe.

To what the Germans would call "moments" in his philosophy, Mr. Santayana's three poets correspond; and Lucretius and Dante, at least, represent "positive" as well as "negative moments." Lucretius is the poet who more nearly than any other faced nature as it is:—not nature as a collection of landscapes or as an excuse for the pathetic fallacy, but nature in its causes and its total sweep—and thus in its nakedness, its vastness, and its alienness to the wistful hopes and sentiments of men. Thus to see nature in its truth was to see something of at least the negative side of human life in its truth. But "Lucretius' notion of what is positively worth while or attainable is very meagre." Dante, on the other hand, has a profoundly false conception of reality, since his universe is built up by conceiving ideal values as furnishing both the general framework and the origin of the world of facts. But though his philosophy "was not a serious description of nature or evolution, it was a serious judgment upon them." His ethical discernment, half Aristotelian in its sources, was, it is true, much vitiated by Platonistic mysticism, by a Hebraic excess of wrath against individuals, and by a desire—which is perhaps an idol of the tribe—to visit upon moral folly retributions other than its own intrinsic consequences. Yet in the realm of moral values he remains a great master—"the master of those who know by experience what is worth knowing by experience."

Goethe's *Faust*, however, seems to represent

chiefly (not quite exclusively) a "negative moment" in the critic's philosophy. At the outset, indeed, some very handsome and not unsympathetic things are said of the poet and his masterpiece; but the sequel compels one to suspect that these eulogies are a little perfunctory. Thus we are told that "Goethe was the wisest of mankind, too wise, perhaps, to be a philosopher in the technical sense." Yet we presently find an explicit philosophy, an "official moral," attributed to the *Faust*; and we are pretty plainly told that 'wisdom' is precisely what that philosophy most conspicuously lacks. The poet's hero, whose story is confessedly a sort of spiritual autobiography told in allegory, is represented as incapable of learning even the most elementary wisdom from any amount of experience,—the wisdom of the Delphic γνῶθι σεαυτόν, the knowledge of the natural limitations of man's lot and of his powers and legitimate desires. A vast acquaintance with the raw material of life it is admitted that Goethe had, and a frequent episodic sagacity about the incidents of it. But in its general character the career of Faust is "a career of folly"; and, however joyfully the angelic hosts may sing over the final *Erlösung* of the hero, from folly he remains (in Mr. Santayana's eyes) unredeemed at the end. Accordingly, as philosopher and moralist Goethe is ranked the lowest of the three poets. In *Faust* we have merely the undigested elements of the life of reason—"the turbid flux of sense, the cry of the heart, the first tentative notions of art and science." For the ideal of the poem, as construed by Mr. Santayana, is the ideal of keeping moving for motion's sake, of pursuing ever new experiences, not, perhaps, without regard to their relative intensities, but quite without regard to their rational significance. Doubtless Faust *immer strebend sich bemüht*; but he does not strive anywhere in particular, nor does he, by all his striving, ever gain or seek to gain any radical transformation of his own character or "any revolution in his fortunes, as if in heaven he were going to be differently employed than on earth." How Faust will eventually conduct himself even in heaven, Mr. Santayana predicts, in a delightfully witty passage too long to quote. Faust's last act on earth, at all events—the culmination (as Mr. Santayana might aptly have

quoted from Eckermann) of what Goethe considered *eine immer höhere und reinere Tätigkeit bis ans Ende*—is, as the critic notes, a piece of cowardly rascality slightly mitigated by hypocrisy. The hero, as Eckermann tells us that the poet did not deny, behaved at the last very much after the fashion of King Ahab—who has not commonly passed for an ideal type of human nature.

Mr. Santayana's lecture on Goethe is thus an incident in the assault upon romanticism now going briskly forward in many quarters. But to treat *Faust* as a sort of Bible of sentimental romanticism is a somewhat paradoxical thing. The "official moral" which the critic finds in the play is not only different from, it is almost the contrary of, the moral conventionally drawn. On the ground of his dying speech Faust is often represented as making an edifying end in the character of a utilitarian philanthropist, finding his own happiness chiefly in his prevision of the happiness of humanity to which his labors are to contribute. (Faust's last words can, in fact, be closely paralleled from the biography of—Jeremy Bentham!) The hero has come down to earth, he has learned through experience the vanity of unbounded desires and unchastened passions, has come to find his ideal in controlled will and in creative work within the normal limits of human action. Not so does Mr. Santayana read the *haec fabula docet*. He finds that the old man's interest in the future generations of industrious burghers who are to dwell behind his leaky dykes is still "a masterful, irresponsible interest. . . . He calls the thing he wants for others good because he now wants to bestow it on them, not because they naturally want it for themselves." "He would continue, if life could last, doing things that in some respects he would be obliged to regret; but he would banish that regret easily, in the pursuit of some new interest, and on the whole, he would not regret having been obliged to regret them."

If *Faust* is to be taken (as Mr. Santayana takes it) as a self-contained whole, in abstraction from all the rest of Goethe and from the results of all recent *Faust*-analysis, this account of its general spirit and ethical import seems to me as defensible as any other, and more defensible than the usual school-book version of its moral. But

of course the play ought not so to be taken—though to say this is to say, what is the fact, that the poet's selection of incident and allegorical material even in the Second Part fails to convey coherently and unequivocally any one, consistent, philosophical conception. The teaching of Goethe cannot so simply be read off from the actual behavior of his hero as can the teaching of Lucretius or Dante from their directly didactic and incomparably better unified poems. His dominant idea repeatedly disguised itself in the form of similar but essentially distinct ideas. Yet, of course, a dominant idea is there; and through it Goethe helped bring about a species of *Umwertung aller Werte* which most minds that have learned much from the past century's reflection have accepted, but to which Mr. Santayana seemingly remains irreconcilable. It consists of an apotheosis of the notion of becoming, of a conviction that the ultimate values of existence lie not in the goal but in the process and in the inner experiences which accompany it, of a hatred of that finality and *αὐτάρκτης* which, in one way or another, most Greek ethics conceived as the supreme good. These are matters about which philologists presumably do not much concern themselves, and they need not, therefore, be discussed here. But it is pertinent to point out that a conscious and reflective adoption of these 'romantic' ideals is quite a different thing from a childlike immersion in the "turbid flux of sense"—a fact which Mr. Santayana hardly sufficiently notes. To have the same sort of mystical feeling, and even austere devotion, towards "striving" and the *vercilender Wert* of every-day human experience that Dante had towards the timeless, incomprehensible abstraction of *l'eterno valore* (surely a far less rational thing to feel mystically about)—this is far from equivalent to being merely limited to "life in its immediacy." And it was this transfiguration of the immediate which was characteristic of Goethe, not the sort of simple-hearted restriction to the immediate which Mr. Santayana often seems to ascribe to him. The reader of much of the chapter on Goethe might easily suppose that poet to be characterized chiefly by a sort of barbaric *naïveté*. But, whatever else Goethe was, he was not *naïf*; nor is it through *naïveté* that the modern world has so

largely come to a certain way of thinking about the nature of good and the nature of things, which the author of *Faust* confusedly foreshadowed.

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*Eructavit.* An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV, published from all the known manuscripts and attributed to Adam de Perseigne, by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. Dresden, Max Niemeyer, 1909. 8vo., xlv + 128 pp. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band 20.)

In undertaking a critical edition of the old French poem *Eructavit*, Professor Jenkins has chosen a task which presents many difficulties. An anonymous work, containing a far-fetched exposition of the forty-fourth Psalm of the Vulgate, and possessing little literary value, it is interesting as one of the few literary texts written in the eastern dialect. But as not one of the fourteen manuscripts in which it is preserved was written in the original dialect of the author, a reconstruction of the text was the most important duty of an editor, and in this reconstruction Professor Jenkins has shown commendable judgment.

The poem affords only slight evidence of the date and place of writing. The allusions to "madame de Champagne" (v. 3) and to "la jantis suer le roi de France" (v. 2079) are beyond doubt addressed to that famous patroness of literature, Marie de Champagne, the sister of Philip Augustus (1179-1223). That the author was an ecclesiastic is a certainty, that he wrote the paraphrase when Marie was mourning for the death of her husband (1181) is made probable by the fact that the psalm on which it is based was used in church services not only on Christmas morning, as noted by the author (vv. 15 ff.), but also on the Festival of Mary Magdalene, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the Commemoration of the Virgin, and the Blessing of the Vestments of Widows, according to the Westminster Missal,<sup>1</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. J. W. Legg (Henry Bradshaw Society), fasc. I, 58; II, 873, 1096; III, 1322; II, 1208; III, 1671.



in all probability similar to that used in the entourage of a court which had such close relations with that of England. The editor has rejected (xi) with good reason the conjecture that because St. Pierre-le-Vif at Sens is mentioned in connection with the apostles to France, Savinian and Potentian, the writer was connected with that monastic foundation. The *Acta* of these twin saints—descendants of the Dioscuri—composed not earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> would have had its intended effect anywhere in the sees forming part of the archbishopric for whose benefit it was forged by the end of the twelfth century, in substituting their apostolate to France for that of St. Martin, found in the earliest apostolic catalogues. In following the *Acta*, one of the sources of the poem not considered by the editor, the author has not made other radical divergences from it. St. James still appears as the apostle to Syria (vv. 793-4); the tradition of his apostolate to Spain, due to a Spanish forger,<sup>3</sup> which was to play such a part in French epic poetry of the following century, is evidently quite unknown to him. But to attribute the poem to Adam de Perseigne is simply a conjecture. There is no internal evidence in its support, and if one considers the other testimony adduced it should be noted that the connection of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the half-brother of Marie (xiv, xvi), could have only been official, when Adam is named "confessor noster" in two charters granted to the abbey of Perseigne in 1198 by the king,<sup>4</sup> as the latter is said by the Coggeshall Chronicle<sup>5</sup> not to have taken communion for seven years before his death in 1199.

In connection with the plea of the author for a more humane treatment of the Jews (x), it is to be noted that the legend of Isaiah's martyrdom by sawing, which was not so well known in the Middle Ages as is implied by Professor Jenkins (106), had a rabbinical source. The first part of the legend has a close verbal similarity to the

version in the *Historia scholastica*\* of Petrus Comestor († 1179), which might well have been known to the French author, since as early as 1195 Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, left to the church of Durham an "Abbreviatio scholasticae Historiae."<sup>7</sup> But the *Historia* does not contain any suggestion of the episode told in the verses:

En cele angoisse ou il estoit  
Quant li soierre s'arestoit,  
Prist le prophete une granz sois;  
Mais por ce que li cuiverz rois  
Ne soffri qu'an li donast boire,  
Deu commança a ramantoivre.  
Par cez paroles le proia  
Et Damedés li anvoia  
Un fil d'iaue devers le ciel,  
Sœf et douce come miel.  
Si tost comme il l'ot avalee  
Si en fu l'ame a Deu alee (2111-2122);

which evidently had as its source the anecdote given as a supplement to Comestor's account by Higden in his *Polychronicon*:

Tradunt Hebraei quod dum Isayas extra Jerusalem juxta fontem Siloae secaretur, petivit aquam sibi dari, qua non concessa, Deus de coelo misit aquam in os ejus, et sic expiravit.<sup>8</sup>

The ultimate authority for this anecdote was a Latin compilation, resembling in many respects the *Historia*, of which it was one of the main sources as it was of the biblical poem of Macé de la Charité<sup>9</sup> and of other works.<sup>10</sup> This compilation was probably written by a Christian in Champagne, where Troyes was the centre of Jewish rabbinical studies in the twelfth century,<sup>11</sup> and where, since the beginning of the same century, there had been friendly intercourse between Jew-

\* Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, cxcviii, 1414.

<sup>7</sup> *Publications of the Surtees Society*, II, *Wills and Inventories*, 4. The earliest copy in a French collection is that entered in the catalogue of Corbie, made c. 1200 (Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, S. 5, I, 506; on date see 395).

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Lumby, III, 76. The editor (xi) does not suggest its source.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxviii, 209, 214.

<sup>10</sup> I have discussed at length in a study of another rabbinical story, found in Occidental literature, the contents, sources, and use made of this hypothetical work. It will appear in an early number of the *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*.

<sup>11</sup> Renan and Neubauer, *Hist. litt.*, xxvii, 434-444, 475 ff., 482.

<sup>2</sup> L. Duchesne, *Bulletin critique*, XIII, 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Duchesne, *Annales du Midi*, XII, 145 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Cistercienne de Perseigne*, 43, 81; cf. *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, etc., ed. J. H. Round, I, 363, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Stevenson, 96; cf. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, 366, n. 1.



ish savants and the Christian clergy.<sup>12</sup> And it is better to attribute to this source the author's inspiration for making Isaiah the author of the *Gloria Patri*, than to the *Ascensio Isaiae*, which was unknown to the Occident for so many centuries.

In the study of the language (xxxv ff.) there are points which call for comment. It was a wise plan to follow the arrangement made by Foerster in the Introduction to the *Cligès*, but in speaking of the distinction between *e* and *ē* (6), so evident in the rhyme, it would have been better, instead of stating that it was contrary to Chrétien's usage, to note that the *Eructavit* is another text to be added to those noted by Foerster<sup>13</sup> as making this distinction. In *hom*, *hon*, 947, 1651, the word is a substantive, and *om*, *on* represents *ō*, while *an*, *en* represents *ē*, the indefinite *on* and the two sounds should not be treated under the same heading (4). The development of *e* + *J* into *oi* as well as into *i* is not so remarkable as the editor states (8, 16a), but is a common double development in the south-eastern French dialects. For the same reason, the statement (21): "As *e* + *i* > *i* it is reasonable to infer that tonic *proie*, *proient* presuppose pretonic *proier* (not *preier* nor *prier*)" is questionable. It is better to accept the evidence of different manuscripts which give the double development in which the pretonic forms whose endings are tonic have been formed on analogy with the stem-accented forms.

More noteworthy than *ou* for *o* in A (11) is the development of an *i* before a palatal in *toüiche* and *bouiche*, a peculiarity which also appears in *boiche* and *toiche* of E. *Fuer* : *cuer* : *defuer* by the side of *fors* (17) is too general a phenomenon to be noted as a dialectic peculiarity. The cause of the rhyme *cuide* : *homecide* (18) might be mentioned: the shifting of the accent to the second part of the diphthong. The rhymes *fil* : *peril* : *fil* : *essil* are noticeable, as elsewhere *l'* rhymes only with itself.

Upon the difference between the cithara and the psalterium and their symbolism in the church fathers, the editor (p. 97) has failed to use an

informing note in van Hamel's edition of *Les Lamentations de Matheolus*.<sup>14</sup> For further confirmation of Professor Jenkins's conjecture (99; *Romania*, xxxix, 83-6) that the author's use of *melite* (Malta) with the sense "place of safety," "salvation from sin," was a reminiscence of the second book of the *De actibus apostolorum* of Arator, one has only to remember that this work was held up as a model of Christian composition, praised or pilfered from by a succession of writers, beginning with Fortunatus and ending with Roger Bacon.<sup>15</sup> Copies of it were very common in medieval libraries,<sup>16</sup> where it was sometimes found separate,<sup>17</sup> sometimes together with other Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Prosper and Juvenius;<sup>18</sup> and more rarely with primary books of instruction such as Cato, Avianus and Theodulus.<sup>19</sup> Its appearance in such collections as at least the latter is explained by the oft-repeated commendation of its use as a textbook, which was first given it in the twelfth century, the date also of glosses on it, probably written in France, where it was most generally known.<sup>20</sup> If several copies of the work are found in some monastic libraries,<sup>21</sup> it was because they were doubtless loaned as copies of other elementary school books to the students of the monastic school.<sup>22</sup> Manitius's observation that

<sup>14</sup> Vol. II, 154-5, 263.

<sup>15</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 166-7, 190, 349, 424, 509, 580, 602, 618; cf. Ebert, *Lit. d. Mittelalters*, II, 70, n., 132; III, 115, 498, n.

<sup>16</sup> Manitius, 167.

<sup>17</sup> G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 3, 41, 52, 131, 138, 141, 142, 152, 174, 175, 186, 192, 197, 208, 227, 229, 242, 252, 275.

<sup>18</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, 13, 28, 76, 81, 131, 134, 152, 191, 203, 249; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 42, 367, 487.

<sup>19</sup> Becker, 62, 70, 249; Hamilton, *Modern Philology*, VII, 178.

<sup>20</sup> Manitius, 167. That the third book of the *Labyrinthus* in which the work of Arator is commended as a school-book (59-60) was not due to the authorship of Evrard de Béthune (Manitius, *l. c.*; Jenkins, *Rom.*, xxxix, 84, n.) has been pointed out a number of times (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 176).

<sup>21</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, 128; James, *op. cit.*, 9, 364.

<sup>22</sup> Ingulphus, *Historia Croylandensis* in Gale, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, Tom. 1, 104-5: "Pro minoribus autem libris, scilicet Psalteriis, Donatis, Catinibus, et similibus Poeticis, ac quaternis de Cantu ad pueros et cognatos Monachorum accomodandis etiam

<sup>12</sup> D. Kaufmann, *Jubelschrift zum 90. Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zumz*, 147 ff.; *Rev. des études juives*, XVIII, 131-3.

<sup>13</sup> *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, XXVIII, 508; and now XXXV, 477, n. 3.

outside of the episcopal libraries, copies were generally to be found in Benedictine cloisters, almost never in the foundation of the Cistercian and other orders, is an indication of the status of the author, useless as a criterion in the case of Adam de Perseigne, who was a Benedictine before becoming a Cistercian. Longinus is not mentioned in *John*, xix, 34 (101), and since the editor has credited his author with an acquaintance with the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (xxii-xxiii, 98), why has he not found the source of the two verses (1249-1250):

Quant il atocha au costé  
Dont Longis ot le fer osté

in the verses of the apocryphal work, "Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam aperuit latus eius,"<sup>23</sup> although the name "Longis" and the legend in regard to it were very common in medieval French literature.

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JOSEPH WIEHR, *Hebbel und Ibsen in ihren Anschauungen verglichen*. Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. Stuttgart, 1908. 183 pp., 8°.

This thesis seeks to compare the ethical, sociological, and psychological views of Ibsen and Hebbel as the author gathers them from the dramas of both poets and from the diaries and letters of Hebbel. The rich Ibsen "Nachlasz"

Cantori et Custodi almariorum cuicumque prohibemus districtius sub inobedientiae poena ne saltem sine licentia Prioris ultra unum diem alicui accommodentur aut tradantur." This passage only appears in this edition of a chronicle, of which the authenticity is more than dubious. It is not found in the only extant manuscript, which was the source of Savile's and Birch's editions (see *Rer. Angl. Scriptores post Bedam*, MDXCVI, fol. 519 vers.), as has been pointed out to me by my friend Professor E. K. Rand. The passage has not been traced to its source, nor has an analogous monastic practise been noted (J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, 64-75), but it has an independent value as denoting the contemporary practise of the fifteenth century, when the forgery was written.

<sup>23</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 2d. ed., p. 362.

which has modified our views of the poet considerably had not at the time appeared. Under the headings of Weltanschauung; Stellung zur Religion; Sittlichkeit; Staat, Gesellschaft, Individuum; Die Frau und die Ehe, he seeks to formulate the affinities and divergences of these two great thinkers and writers of the nineteenth century. Verbosity and a strong and annoying tendency to irrelevance frequently cloud the issue. The conclusion, as stated in general terms is: "In den Anschauungen Hebbels und Ibsens finden wir eine weitgehende Uebereinstimmung, doch wo dieselbe fehlt, treffen wir in der Regel auf einen absoluten Gegensatz" (p. 174). W. shows that basically the view of life of the two dramatists is identical: a conception of a dualistic world, in which a continual struggle is being waged between the "All" and the individual (pp. 25 ff.). Both looked upon the present state of society pessimistically, but hoped for a betterment of conditions in the future. They differed radically, however, in the method of procedure. This in Ibsen's case was a revolutionary attack on social conditions, which he depicted as unmitigatedly wrong and in need of immediate change. Hebbel, on the other hand, from the vantage ground of his "zauberkräftige Formel" (p. 8), saw the cause and justification of both the convention and the attack. Confusing in this connection is W.'s statement (p. 20) "dasz er (Hebbel) soziale Umstände nicht als berechtigte Gegenmacht ansieht," a cryptic remark not substantiated by any examples. Moreover, W. goes too far when he says: "Ibsen war selbst zu sehr Partei und stellte sich, wenigstens in seinen sozialen Dramen, mit Entschiedenheit auf die Seite der Gegner des Bestehenden" (p. 65). Ibsen criticises not only the social conventions which are the object of attack but also the critics who attack them. And if we may well say with W. that Hebbel "es zuwege brachte, allen Parteien recht zu geben" (p. 65), we may say of Ibsen that he shows all sides to be in the wrong. W.'s failure to perceive this leads him into unnecessary and wearisome disquisitions on the fallacies of Nora, Helene Alving, etc., whom he seems to regard as Ibsen's ideals of what human beings should be. A study of Anzengruber's *Pfarrer von Kirchfeld* might have shown W. the differ-

ence between an author who really champions one side of a problem and a critic of the whole of life like Ibsen. W. might then not have stigmatized the source of *Puppenheim*, as given by Brandes, as a "kümmerliche Alltagsgeschichte" (p. 159). For the artist who chose the attic-studio of Helmer Ekdal for loving description, such a term hardly exists.

W. shows that, as time went on, Ibsen became more revolutionary in his attacks on society, Hebbel growing less aggressive. For this amelioration of feeling on the part of Hebbel, W. kindly supplies the personal motive that as society began to smile upon the poet, he became its advocate (pp. 90 f.). In discussing the two poets' attitude on the question of the freedom of the will, W. makes a good distinction. Hebbel he shows to be a determinist (though with occasional contradictions), his characters all obeying an "absolute necessity," while Ibsen's people are "unfrei," being under the pressure of conventions, circumstances, the will of others (pp. 48 ff.). As to their position towards women, W. concludes that Hebbel never and Ibsen only at one period of his life favored the "emancipation" of woman, but that both agreed in demanding for her recognition as an individual (p. 146 f.). This statement is only partially satisfactory. As Woerner has shown, Ibsen was the culmination and Hebbel, with Kleist, the transition of a movement which began with the Romanticists and which revolutionized the conventional attitude towards the "sex-war," the evolution of the "grande amoureuse" of the past into the modern comrade of man (Woerner, II, p. 257). Moreover, it is necessary here to distinguish between the theoretical words of a writer and his literary creations. Kleist presented in his *Nathalie* a person far superior to his conception of women as we see it in his letters. Here, eighteenth century thinking and nineteenth century feeling were at war. The same is sometimes true of Hebbel. He claims far more for Mariamne and Rhodope as regards independence of action and demands for recognition, than many of his utterances in the diaries and letters would suggest.

Of a number of errors and hasty conclusions, a few of the more disturbing are: the confusion of Gyges and Kandaules in the discussion of Hebbel's *Gyges und sein Ring* (p. 65 and again p. 88).

To claim that Ibsen invented the "returning traveller or newly arrived stranger for the purpose of exposition" (p. 17) sounds a bit innocent. We need but think of *Hamlet* where Horatio's return serves this purpose. To say that Ibsen's drama has had but slight influence on the literary productivity of England (p. 16) is to wipe out of existence almost all of the modern English drama: Bernard Shaw as well as Jones and Pinero. The firstnamed freely acknowledged his indebtedness; in fact, whole plays like *Man and Superman* are Ibsen anglicized, while the others may be called Ibsen lemonaded.

The points which Wiehr makes are largely obscured and made inaccessible to the reader by the undue space given to disquisitions on general subjects for the purpose of making us acquainted with W.'s own views on questions like Socialism and Democracy followed by an attack on "haltlose Phantasten" like Tolstoi, who expect the salvation of mankind from the masses (pp. 107 f., 129); on the emancipation of women and woman's place in creation (p. 129); on marriage (pp. 159 f.); on the advantages of city life (p. 165), etc., etc. All this garrulity, however valuable, is less interesting to the reader than the views of Hebbel and Ibsen on these subjects. Regrettable also is the flip-pantly journalistic tone together with a note of personal virulence which mars what should be a calmly scientific exposition (pp. 127, 129, 136, 137, 154, 155, 170, 173, etc.). After pages devoted to a very personal and subjective arraignment of Hebbel in his action towards Elise Lensing (pp. 100-102, 133-137), W. amusingly says: "Ich denke nicht daran, über Hebbels Handlungsweise zu Gericht ziehen zu wollen" (p. 135). W. is most liberal in furnishing mean and petty motives not only to Hebbel and Ibsen but to all who may disagree with him (pp. 90, 116 f., 131, 168).

The conclusion which W. reached and which might have been reached in 50 instead of 183 pages, is that Hebbel and Ibsen both attacked society on behalf of the individual, but made that attack from opposite points of departure: Ibsen as revolutionist, Hebbel as evolutionist. The point that should have been more emphasized is that their great service to mankind and to art lies in the fact that both held up for searching criticism



old and revered institutions, and that both laid the center of gravity on the inner life and not on outer conventions. Ibsen, as Woerner has shown, was the volunteer asked for in Hebbel's *Gyges*, who should dare to break "den Schlaf der Welt" and wrest away worthless but cherished playthings.

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*Das Passé Défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen*, von P. SCHAECHTELIN. Halle: Niemeyer, 1911. 83 pp. Beiheft 30 zur ZRPh.

The author of the work under discussion states that he has attempted to determine the exact syntactical meaning of the imperfect and past definite in Old and Modern French, hoping to discover and help to measure any variation of usage between the two periods in respect to these tenses. Dissatisfied with preceding works upon the subject, he has chosen the thirteenth century as a field of study, and from its literature has selected the three historians Villehardouin, Joinville, and Henri de Valenciennes. All of these he has used in the edition of N. de Wailly, whose translations into Modern French have served him as a basis of comparison between the usage in the two periods. As a result of this investigation Schaechtelin has come to conclusions which may here be presented in a slightly different order to meet the demands of condensed exposition.

The past definite is essentially a narrative tense, and as such the idea of succession (*Reihenbegriff*) is inseparable from it. Therefore, unless used with other past definites, the verbal form (which for convenience of distinction will be termed the preterite in English) is not a past definite, but rather an "isolated perfect" which is not narrative, but on the contrary explanatory, like the imperfect, from which, however, it differs in not being contemporaneous. Even when a preterite occurs with other preterite forms, we have an isolated perfect and not a past definite to deal with unless the narrative advances. Moreover, just as the past definite is at times found in an inchoative sense, besides its ordinary meaning, so the isolated perfect shows both usages, as seen

in the following passage taken from Nisard's *Caesar*, VI, 30 :

La fortune peut beaucoup en toute chose, et surtout à la guerre. Car si ce fut un grand hasard de surprendre Ambiorix . . . ce fut (isolated perfect inchoative) aussi pour lui un grand bonheur qu' . . . il pût échapper à la mort.

It will be seen that the isolated perfect is subjective, explanatory ; it is especially common in the case of the auxiliaries, and from it arose the extended use of the past indefinite, which was also originally explanatory.

The second point that Schaechtelin investigates is the nature of inchoative value ; his results are derived especially from a study of the auxiliaries. The argument is based upon the Indo-European etymology of Latin *fui*, which means originally "to grow." This root does not occur in all of the tenses, hence the inchoative value did not spread to the other, non-perfect forms of the verb ; indeed, so powerful was the auxiliary *fut* in French that it kept *avoir* from having an inchoative meaning throughout, although the latter is etymologically fitted for such a value by its connection with the Greek root "to seize." *Etre* and *avoir*, therefore, kept the inchoative meaning in the perfect ; in Old French, and even at the present day, they are found in the preterite more often than other verbs ; all other cases of inchoative meaning must be traced to analogy with *fut*, sometimes aided by etymological elements lying dormant in the verb itself (p. 51). Not all verbs are capable of receiving this double meaning, nor does it exist throughout the verb ; thus *statum* (> *été*) is never inchoative, except in the case of *j' ai été* + participle, where the inchoative meaning is derived from its use to replace *je fus* + participle. It is essential to distinguish the inchoative value of *fut* from its purely narrative, past definite use, which, independent of any verbal meaning, gives succession.

The pluperfect and past definite correspond exactly to the simple tenses of the auxiliaries. The extended use of the past anterior as a narrative tense in Old French gave rise, upon its decline, to the development of a new form. *J'eus fait* might be either inchoative or not. How-



ever, *j'eus* could be replaced by *j'ai eu* only in the inchoative sense, since the past indefinite of *avoir* is popularly restricted to the inchoative meaning. In other cases the past anterior was replaced by the pluperfect as *j'eus* has been replaced by *j'avais*. *J'ai eu fait* can occur only for inchoative meaning, and this form is therefore not rightly classed by Diez as a double compound tense parallel to *j'avais eu fait*, etc.

As a result of his comparison, the author decides that the meaning of the tenses was the same in Old French as now. Among the causes that led to a much more frequent use of the past definite in Old French he mentions (1) the historical character of the texts; (2) the subordination of explanation to the giving of succession; (3) the accuracy and vividness of style; (4) adherence to the root meaning of words and to the nature of the past definite.

On the whole, Schaechtelin finds greater subjective play in the older period, a freedom which was lost during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when classical influence determined fixedly the form of expression.

In the presentation of his material the author satisfactorily shows the exact shade of meaning which he attaches to the given example, and insists upon the importance of the point of view. He rightly refuses to accept a double meaning in the verb as an explanation of inchoative value and correctly states that this latter phenomenon can not be the basis for an essential differentiation between the imperfect and past definite, and that furthermore there is nothing in the form of the past definite or past indefinite to give inchoative value.

Schaechtelin's theories, however, lead to an involved system, and it has been thought best in this discussion to omit from consideration a fifth class of preterites—a preterite inchoative, used with narrative past definites, but itself giving contemporaneous, explanatory material; nor will further mention be made of the "isolated past anterior."

Although it is of prime importance to attach definite meanings to words, it is possible to be too subtle in this respect. The analysis of definitions on pp. 6 and 9 is not always free from this objection. That this dissatisfaction with terms arises at times from a misunderstanding of the original

is plain in the translation, on pp. 53-54, of "a tense attribute" by "eine attributive Zeit," an expression unintelligible in this connection. Nor is Schaechtelin warranted in correcting Landgraf (p. 57). It is to be regretted, further, that he holds old and erroneous theories of tense, according to which the speaker stations himself in the past when using the historical present, and in the present for the imperfect.<sup>1</sup> The chief criticisms of this monograph, however, must bear upon the fundamental points treated.

That an isolated perfect of the kind described exists is unquestioned; also that the emphasis in it is upon the completion of the activity. This well-known preterite derives its value directly from the Latin perfect, which was a composite form, including *s*-perfects, *v*-perfects, reduplicated perfects, and the participial *-tus* forms for passives and deponents. The French past definite, which resulted from the Latin perfect, might naturally be expected to show the values of the original tense. Schaechtelin's rejection of the isolated perfect from the realm of the past definite, as not forming any part of it, can not be justified historically, and can be accounted for only by the arbitrary definition which he has adopted, according to which succession is a *sine qua non* of the past definite.

The contention, however, that the past definite must give a narrative and can not stand alone, is no more fallacious than is Schaechtelin's conception of the imperfect. The latter tense is for him a relative one, not used alone, but dependent upon some past definite, often understood, and giving explanatory material or information considered as such. He asserts that repetition has nothing to do with the character of the imperfect and has never influenced it. As a proof of this is given the fact that a repeated act may be expressed in the past definite if it marks a step forward (p. 26).

Schaechtelin thus seems to overlook altogether the element of stress as a determining factor. Naturally his theories do not allow him to conceive of the pictorial imperfect,<sup>2</sup> which he tries to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clédat, *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, I, fasc. II, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fornaciari, R., *L'Imperfetto Storico*. *Studj Romanzi*, fasc. 2, pp. 27-39. Armstrong, *Modern Philology*, VI, p. 47.

explain by reference to some other verb unconnected in reality with the tense used (cf. middle of p. 13).

It must be kept in mind that while the imperfect stresses duration, repetition, the past definite is, thanks to its Latin source, the past tense *par excellence*. Though it may lend itself to the stressing of such verbal phases as completion, or inception, it is often used to give simple past action without stress.<sup>3</sup> It is for this reason that Schaechtelin's division of all preterites into two classes is unsatisfactory. The residual perfect is the real explanation in many of the cases which Schaechtelin found difficult. It lies at the basis of the formal expressions mentioned on p. 45, the later disappearance of which was due to the more careful stressing of various elements. Explained by the residual perfect, rebellious cases which Schaechtelin strove to fit into the theory already outlined or which he condemned in the translation as incorrect, are readily understood. The imperfects at the bottom of p. 27 and top of p. 28 are a good illustration of stress on repetition; they are independent of *vit. Tint*, p. 37, gives merely an unstressed past fact; *distinguaient*, p. 41, might be translated: they could distinguish one another; the past definite would give simply the past occurrence of the action. The numerous examples of *ot* and *fu*, mentioned on p. 76, are due to lack of stress, as is shown by Schaechtelin's observation that in dependent clauses, the imperfect is usual; i. e., the imperfect was used where the subordinate relation made durative elements prominent. Other notable examples are: *savait* and *sut*, p. 25; *distrent*, p. 27; *fu* and *aprocha*, p. 28; *vaut*, p. 40; *durent*, p. 47; *ot*, p. 72; *eurent*, p. 73; *fu*, p. 78.

It is necessary, before proceeding further in the consideration of Schaechtelin's views on inchoative value, to reject from his lists all such examples as *fut ouvert* (p. 57); *fut entreprise* (p. 73); *fu nez*, *fu morz* (pp. 81-82). That the passive and deponent forms have nothing to do with inchoative meaning, but arose from entirely independent causes, is now completely assured.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vandaele, H., *Syntaxe des temps et des modes en français*. Besançon, 1906, p. 2. Also Armstrong, o. c., pp. 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> This proof is furnished by the work of Herzog, E., *Das to-Partizip im Altromanischen*, in *Prinzipienfragen der*

Schaechtelin asserts positively that the past indefinite of *être* can never be inchoative (p. 53). This statement, although seemingly made necessary by the author's theory, is proved untenable by the facts. The following example will suffice here as an illustration.<sup>5</sup> *Eh bien, quand j' ai été père, j' ai compris Dieu*. Balzac, *Père Goriot* (Heath), p. 152. (His children were still alive.) The author is wrong in denying inchoative value to *aimer*; even in the past definite he refuses to accept such a meaning (p. 51), and it is in fact not present in the case he cites on p. 42. The real inchoative use, however, is not infrequent in this verb. Moreover, it would be equally hard upon Schaechtelin's theory, to account for the following reflexive used inchoatively: *C' est pourtant comme cela qu' on s' a i m e*, etc. Hugo, *Les Misérables* (Heath), p. 205.

The same desire to prove that *statum* never allows the idea of growth or change in the forms where it occurs as *été* leads to the denial that *être* is ever used in the sense of *aller*, although it is later admitted that a somewhat similar meaning is found in the past definite alone (p. 56). This usage of *être* has probably nothing to do with inchoative value, but shows how readily an additional shade of meaning is derived from the context when favored by the nature of the tense. The general statement, nevertheless, demands correction. The following example can leave no doubt as to its value in this case: *Je suis quasi grand'mère, c' est un état où l' on n' est guère l' objet de la médisance: quand on a été jusque-là sans se décrier, on se peut vanter d' avoir achevé sa carrière*. Mme. de Sévigné, *Lettres*, II, 5 (Grands Ecrivains edition). The use of an infinitive of purpose shows further that the verb is considered one of motion in the following example:<sup>6</sup> *A peine suis-je arrivé à Paris, qu' on a été dire à l'o-*

*Romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Beiheft 26 zur ZRPh., Halle, 1910. The hesitation in Latin between *sum* + participle and *fui* + participle is definitely against the idea of inchoative value. Cf. pp. 97-106; 135-163. For reference to *fu morz*, *fu nez*, cf. pp. 158-159.

<sup>5</sup> For other examples, parallel to those which Schaechtelin accepts in the past definite, also of *aimer*, see Laubscher, *The Past Tenses in French*, Balto., 1909, pp. 25-27.

<sup>6</sup> It can not but appear remarkable that Schaechtelin should refer to such infinitives of purpose as "objects" (p. 55). His statement as to their use seems doubtful.

reille d'un grand ministre, etc. Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1876, Vol. x, p. 126, column 2.

Inchoative value is a phenomenon much more extended than would be supposed from this work (p. 51). I have tried elsewhere to show that it occurs in all tenses, in varying degrees, and is an additional shade of meaning favored by the context and admitted by the verb.<sup>7</sup> The Indo-European etymology of *fut* can not be used as proof in this discussion, for the kindred English "to be" and German "bin" show no particular fitness for such meaning. The inchoative value in general is not an analogy, but is a widespread possibility among verbs.

The explanation of the double compound form of the past indefinite next demands attention. The following four examples are the only ones which I have noted in the examination of a considerable number of texts. *Quand M. Fouquet a eu cessé de parler, Pussort s'est levé, etc.* Sév., o. c., I, 459. *Quand il a été parti, M. le chancelier a dit, etc.* *Ibid.*, I, 461. *Il n'a pas manqué de les faire porter chez le messager deux heures après qu'il a été party de Paris.* Balzac, *Lettres*, p. 154 (Paris, 1873). *Et c'est après qu'il a été parti que M. de Climal s'est fâché, etc.* Marivaux, *La vie de Marianne*, p. 107 (Paris, Charpentier, n. d.).

It is noteworthy that in these passages there is no approach to inchoative value, and that the combination formed with *avoir* seems infrequent compared with the compound of *être*. That *j'ai eu* was used popularly in the time of Mme. de Sévigné without inchoative value, even if it is not now (cf. p. 68), is shown in the expression: *Un bonheur que vous n'avez pas eu, etc.* Sév., *ibid.*, II, 112.

The examples given above show that these double compound forms are parallel to the other *surcomposés*. In every case they are used to show action anterior to a past indefinite, in analogy to the common construction in which a past indefinite gives time previous to a present. Schaechtelin's conclusions as to *j'ai eu aimé* upon the basis of *j'ai eu coupé les cheveux* is unfounded. He

<sup>7</sup> Cf. o. c., pp. 16-40. Inchoative value is in no way derived from its use in a series, in succession, although it readily occurs here. Schaechtelin has misunderstood the meaning of p. 39; cf. Schaechtelin, p. 52, note.

has been misled by the latter construction, which may be seen well in Commynes, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1840), p. 68: *Tous ceux de la maison de Warvic et de Sombresset y ont eu les testes trencées ou mors en bataille.* This is entirely independent of the tense under discussion, and is not to be considered here.

In conclusion, it must be added that too much has been said in the work of fine stylistic devices in the older language at the expense of the modern tongue. The present language has a more accurate insight into the relation of things, and stresses these where the older language vacillated. The less frequent appearance of the past definite is the result, not of artificial rules (cf. p. 83), but of the decreased residual value of the tense as the language becomes more and more accurate in its desire to stress the various aspects of an activity, while there is no loss of liberty in expression as a result.

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#### *Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose.*

JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM. New York: Holt and Company, 1911. [Yale Studies in English, XXXIX.] 8vo., 135 pp.

Dr. Burnham's thesis, the fourth study of Old English syntax to issue from Professor Albert S. Cook's Seminar, is a very meritorious piece of work. Like her predecessors, she has laid under tribute the whole list of available prose texts, about fifty-five in all. The mere reading of so much material is no small task. In addition to this, her subject is one most difficult of delimitation; for the concessive idea, beyond any other, perhaps, is elusive as a will-o'-wisp, and appears in as many varying shapes and shades of luminosity.

In her portrayal of this phenomenon, Dr. Burnham has employed due delicacy of discernment and due caution in approach. If the image she can catch is not always clear and sharp in outline, the fault is attributable not to herself or her method, but rather to the inherent impossibility of fitting into four-square analytical category an essence so ethereal. She has, in consequence,



frankly abandoned for the most part the statistical and tabular element usually found helpful in essays of this kind, and has also, in comparison with others, given by quotation or citation relatively scant illustrative material. However, one feels instinctively that she herself has carefully pondered all, and has let little that is of significance escape her.

In consequence, the omission of this does not mar, though one may feel that its inclusion would have given added perfection. A monograph must give data for inference, even though inference itself be left unstated or else condensed for lack of space. Only thus can come to the user repose and the utter abandon of confidence at every turn. And just this quality is sometimes lacking. To illustrate, no one would question the author's conclusion on page 25 that the optative nearly always follows *ðeah*, and that the indicative may occur, in fact, does occur in 10 cases out of 700. But, just the same, who does not long for a quotation (or at least a citation in the Appendix, where stand others certainly less noteworthy) of these very exceptions to the rule? And this longing is all the more acute because of the author's ample justification (see page 24, end) of two of these rare indicatives—*Boethius*, 31. 10 and *Lives of Saints*, 1. 150. 35. Let us hope that she will yet publish from her notes a list of all indicatives after *ðeah* (*ðe*) concessive.

Chapter I is introductory in nature. First therein is stated the relation of the concessive clause to that of condition: "The conditional sentence contains a hypothesis and a conclusion contingent upon the truth of that hypothesis; the concessive sentence contains a hypothesis, or a fact, and a conclusion independent thereof." In like manner, concession may lie close akin to cause: "when a negative assertion or command is expressed, with a reason tending to an opposite conclusion, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the minor clause is causal or concessive"; as in *Ælfric's Homilies*, 2. 216. 24, *ne yrsige he nateshwon wið us, ðeah ðe* ('because' or 'though') *we Godes bebodu mannum geopenian*.

With like brevity and clarity the inter-relationship of concessive clauses among themselves is next formulated. All concessions, when classi-

fied according to the speaker's approach to the sentence, fall into three groups: the simple, the disjunctive, and the indefinite. "The simple concession contains a fact or notion *in spite of* which the main proposition stands"; as in *Boethius*, 106. 14 *ðeah he eall wille, he ne mæg*. The disjunctive, or alternative concession introduces mutually exclusive possibilities, *in spite of either* of which the proposition is maintained; as in *Soliloquies* 24. 1, *sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal seegan nide riht*. The indefinite concession generalizes the situation: the main proposition is asserted *in spite of any possibility*, no matter what the case may be; as in *Codex Diplomaticus*, 4. 118. 17, *ga land and feoh into sancte Augustine . . . si abbod se ðe si*.

Upon this three-fold distinction is the larger structure of the book based; Chapter II treats of the simple concession; Chapters III and IV, of the disjunctive; and in Chapter V are discussed the elusive and Protean indefinite concessions. The remaining chapters—VI to IX—treat specific constructions which for clearest presentation are not amenable to one of the three classes just mentioned.

Chapter II treats of the simple concessive clause. It is introduced usually by *ðeah* or *ðeah ðe*, the latter being preferred by *Ælfric* (who uses also almost exclusively *ðy læs ðe*, instead of *ðy læs*, before the final clause).<sup>1</sup> Rarely *swa ðeah* and *swa ðeah ðæt* (*ðe*) have concessive force. Almost unique and very doubtful are *hwæðere* and its compounds. *ðeah* (*ðe*) may be reinforced by a prefixed *eall*, *eac swylce*, *ge*, or *and*, or else by a following *nu*. Any concessive conjunctive may be balanced by a correlative word or phrase in the main clause: such are *ðeah*, *swa ðeah*, *hwæðere*, (*swa*) *ðeah*, *huru*, for *eallum ðisum*, and certain comparative expressions, frequently stereotyped, such as *na ðy læs*. Dr. Burnham's list here seems to be complete, though she might have added *ðeah ðe . . . huru ðinga*, of *Homilien und Heiligenleben* 141. 86.

Due mention is next made of *ðeah* idiomatic, meaning *if* interrogative after expressions of wonder, and *whether* after *nytan*, *uncuð*, and possibly *weald*, as in *Psalms* 50. 6, *nis hit nan wundor ðeah*

<sup>1</sup> See pages 94-99 of my *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*. Holt & Co., 1903.



ðu sy god; *Boethius* 101. 6, wundrian ðeah we spyrien; *id.* 64. 9, ic nat ðeah ðu wene.

The mode of the simple concession is shown to be nearly always optative, whether the clause be one of fact or of hypothesis. A very few indicatives occur—just where and why one cannot help wishing to know. I happen to recall three such, in each case with a negative major clause: *Exodus* 11. 9, ne hyrð Faraa inc, ðeah ðe fela tacnu sind gewordene; *Beowulf* 1613, ne nom he . . . maðm-æhta ma, ðeah he ðær monige geseah; *John* 21. 11, ða (temporal-concessive) hyra swa fæla wæs, næs ðæt net tobrocen.

Chapter III discusses the disjunctive clause of concession, introduced by *sum* and by the correlated *swa . . . swa . . . swæðer*; as in *Soliloquies* 24. 1, sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal seggan nide riht; *Boethius* 110. 27, forðæm ðæt is se betsta anwald ðæt mon mæge and wille wel don, swa læssan spædum, swa maran, swæðer he hæbbe. The mode in the first type, when determinable, is always optative; in the second, both indicative and optative are found, though the latter is far more frequent.

Chapter IV presents the inverted concessive clause without conjunction. Such are practically always disjunctive, like those in Chapter III; e. g., *Ælfric's Homilies* 1. 532. 7, we sceolon, wylle we nelle we, arisan (cf. modern English 'willy nilly'). In a few late passages, a series of inverted concessive clauses is followed by an indefinite clause of the same form as the indefinite concessions treated in the paragraph below. The indefinite clause sums up not only the cases named, but all possible cases; as in *Laws* 282. 13, bete man georne be ðæm ðe seo dæd sy, sy hit ðurh feohtlac, si hit ðurh reaflac, sig ðurh ðæt ðe hit sy. For simple concessions, however, in Old English the inverted paratactic clause was not used, though it appears within the Middle English period: cf. Scott, *Talisman*, ch. 28, by this hand thou shalt, wert thou the proudest Plantagenet of the line. Whether disjunctive or indefinite, the mode of the inverted verb is invariably optative. This, Dr. Burnham with commendable caution suggests, may possibly be of hortatory origin.

Chapter V presents the third type, indefinite concessions. These are native and rather archaic, abounding in the *Laws*, *Chronicles*, and

*Charters*. They originate in an indefinite clause of permission, which lends itself to concessive use by a logical process somewhat as follows:—"I give my consent to some undefined procedure; that means that I accept the consequences. The idea of some contrasted result taking place in spite of this procedure—though it be only acceptance of consequences—is involved in the nature of such a permission." Such clauses of permissive or quasi-permissive form are always found to contain an integral indefinite (or interrogative) pronoun, or an indefinite adverb or adverbial expression, as illustrated in the following:—*Codex Diplomaticus* 3. 362. 29, sy efre seo ælmesse gelest gearhwæmlice, age land seðe age; *id.* 4. 299. 13, swa hwylc man swa ða socne ahe, sanctus Benedictus habbe his freodom; *id.* 4. 226. 24, ic habbe geunnen Wulfrice ðæt abbodrice in Hely . . . sitte his mann ðer ðær he sitte; *Chronicles* 220. 16, nan man ne dorste slea oðerne man, hæfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon.

The mode of the indefinite concession is usually the optative, of permissive origin, though the indicative occasionally is found, as in *Institutes* 353. 22, Swa hwylc man swa cennende wif freo gedeð, ðæt bearn bið swa-ðeah a ðeow (*Quoniam quis . . . fecerit, infans tamen semper erit servus*).

In Chapter VI are considered "Clauses of other kinds adapted to concessive use." These are the following: (1) The relative clause may have concessive force merely through its logical relation to the context. In many cases, however, the concessive idea is emphasized . . . by such particles as *ðonne*, *hwæðere*, (*swa*) *ðeah*, *huru*, *nu*, *ær* (*or*), etc.; or by means of demonstrative pronouns: *Bede* 440. 31, hwelchwugu god dede, ða he hwæðre . . . aðeostade (*bona aliqua fecit, quæ tamen . . . obnubilarit*); *Boethius* 116. 26, ða menn ðe ðisum leasungum gelefdon, ðeah wisston. (2) The temporal clause, introduced by *ða* (*ða*), *siddan*, *mid ðy*, *mittes*, *ðonne*, and *nu*, often passes into concessive function. The usual correlating particles may stand in the major clause to focus more sharply the concessive idea:—*Wulfstan* 12. 14, ða ða ðæt wæs ðæt deofol ðæt fole swa mistlice dwelede . . . ða wæs ðeah an mægð ðe æfre weorðode ðone soðan godd. (3) The local clause, also, may under the same conditions become concessive:—*Apothegms* 24, ðær ðær ðu neode irsian

scyle, gemetiga ðæt ðeah. (4) So the conditional, as in Leigh Hunt, *Wishingcap Papers*, p. 240, Garth was often at Hampstead, if he never lived there:—*Benedictinerregel* 54. 13, gif hwylc broðor unascadelice hwæs bidde, he ðeah . . . him ne geunrotsige. (5) A correlated clause of comparison, formally modal, may be virtually concessive:—*Dialogues* 116. 21, swa ic swyðor drince, swa me swyðor ðyrsteð. (6) A definite expression of degree may pass into a logical concession:—*Orosius* 152. 16, swa ealde swa hie ða wæron hie gefuhton.

Of these six types, most clearly native are the correlatives with *swa*, (5). The most clearly derived from Latin is the conditional concession, (4). The remaining four forms "seem to have risen, in some degree, independently, but to have had their chief development in translation." As to mode, the great majority of the clauses in each of the six types—apart from conditional concessions, (4)—have the indicative. "Each . . . follows in this rather its own individual usage." The mode is thus unaffected by the concessive idea.

Chapter VII presents paratactic clauses of concession, whether coördinated by means of a conjunction, or whether merely juxtaposed, with no connective whatever. This usage is naturally characteristic of the loose-built style of such texts as *Orosius* and the *Chronicles*. Examples are:—*Chronicles* 48. 29, he his feorh generede and ðeah he wæs oft gewundad; *De Temporibus* 13. 10, seo sunne ða stod . . . ac se dæg eode forð; *Lives of Saints* 1. 458. 226, sum wer wæs betogen ðæt he wære on stale—wæs swa ðeah unscyldig. The concession may be coördinated with even a subordinate clause, as in *Wulfstan* 219. 19, ðam bið wa æfre geborenum, ðe hit secgan can and ne wille.

In Chapter VIII is discussed the concessive use of phrases and single words. These condensed concessions are somewhat rare, and are interesting because of their persistence into modern speech. The phrases so used are prepositional and fall into two classes. In the one the concessive meaning is to be felt merely from the context; in the other it is more nearly inherent in the preposition employed, usually *for*, expressing an ineffective cause, and hence a concession. Illustrations are:—*Chronicles* 136. 17, ac for eallum ðisum (in spite of this)

se here ferde; *id.* 440. 10, buton ðam (in spite of that) hi hergodan; *Lives of Saints* 1. 332. 167, he is forði (nevertheless) be feorða. Also, appositive nouns, adjectives, and participles may appear with more or less of concessive force:—*Ælfric's Homilies* 1. 588. 28, ic wundrige ðe, snotere wer (though a wise man), ðæt ðu ðyssere lare fylan wylt; *Benedictinerregel* 13. 12, forðon ge ðeow ge freoh ealle we synd on Criste; *Matthew* 13. 13, lociende hig ne geseoð. The absolute participle is possibly concessive in such sentences as *John* 20. 26, se Hælend com, belocennum durum.

I have purposely spared comment, believing that the above résumé will best present the excellence of the study. However, I cannot suppress the wish that Dr. Burnham may soon find it in her heart to prepare another similar essay—perhaps, upon the expression of comparison and manner in Old English, a labor for which she is admirably fitted by virtue of the keen vision and the accurate sense of syntactical value she has shown in this present volume.

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*Spanish Short Stories*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS and LOUISE REINHARDT. Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1910. xviii + 323 pp. (Text, 200 pp.)

Numerous collections of Spanish stories have been published in text-book form. The present volume differs from others in its distinct literary aim. The editors offer, in fact, by criticism and by illustration, a survey of Spanish prose fiction in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Introduction* by Prof. Hills is a careful and judicious study of Spanish fiction from 1800 down to Blasco Ibáñez. The essentially regional nature of the realistic novel is duly demonstrated, and the characterizations of individual authors are especially apt and just. Two paragraphs at the close are devoted to the little-known subject of fiction in Spanish America.

The same knowledge and literary taste appear

in the selection of material. The intention has evidently been to exhibit the short-story genre with as much fullness and variety as possible. No extracts from novels are included, and each story is practically complete in its original form (except for the selections from the *Escenas montaÑesas*). Of the fourteen stories, two (among the best) are by Spanish-American authors; Larra, Bécquer, Trueba, Campillo, Alarcón, Fernán Caballero, Pereda, Pardo Bazán, Pérez Galdós and Blasco Ibáñez are represented by one example each, and Palacio Valdés by two. In other words, Valera is the only prominent name we miss; and we understand that no entirely suitable tale of his, short and complete, could be found. The collection includes such sterling specimens of the narrator's art as Larra's *Castellano viejo*, Palacio Valdés' *Los Puritanos* and Campillo's *Vino y frailes*; Spanish realism at its best appears in the extracts from Pereda's *La Leva*. The desire to represent as many authors as possible entails the weakness of certain numbers, which could hardly hold up their heads in a European literary congress. One might wish it possible to represent Trueba and Fernán Caballero by short examples containing less dross in proportion to the gold, but it is safe to suppose that the editors conducted their search with all human diligence.

The stories are meant to be arranged in order of difficulty, and in a general way the end is attained. Use in the class-room indicates however that *El Castellano viejo* should stand nearer the end of the series; *El Voto* likewise is doubtless too near the front cover.

The editorial work is uniformly thorough and painstaking. The *Notes* deal almost entirely with grammatical difficulties; idioms and biographical and geographical comment are placed in the *Vocabulary*. The latter is unusually large (approximately 5800 words: cf. among other large vocabularies, *El capitán Ribot*, ca. 4400; *Marianela*, 4800; *La Barraca*, 5000; *Doña Perfecta*, 6800), and its size indicates sufficiently that these stories should not be attempted by beginners. Special locutions are rendered with much care.

The following suggestions and corrections, slight in comparison with the bulk of the book, are offered.

*Notes.* 19, n. 2, ¡*Qué había de huir!* is better rendered 'of course I haven't run away!' 56, n. 1, not 'this was not the time for compliance', but 'for dreaming'. 58, n. 2, is not very illuminating; there are passages in Cervantes' *Gitanilla* which tell much more about gypsies' ability to transform animals. 60, n. 1; an explanation of the construction of *se lo quedará el patrón* would be valuable, if one can be found. 66, n. 3; since mention is made of the little-known painter Juan Bautista Maino, it would be well to state the period in which he lived (1569-1649) and that the picture in question is in the Prado. 68, n. 1; a better rendering would be 'which were still no more than hopes'. 98, l. 17; the antecedent of *ésas* should be pointed out. 102, l. 13; *lo contrapuesto* needs comment; does it mean 'the contradictory nature'? 111, n. 4, should be transferred to 100, l. 25, where the phrase first occurs. 151, n. 1; the reference probably is to the festival of San Isidro; cf. K. L. Bates, *Spanish Highways and Byways*, p. 228. 173, n. 1, displays ignorance of the existence of the verb *trincar*, 'to swallow' from the Germanic stem *trinken*.

*Vocabulary.* The following omissions have been noted (words similar in form to English are not given): 18, 24, *temperatura*, '(warm) weather.' 106, 25, *hocico*, 'snout'. 128, 30, *loza*, 'porcelain' (and the meaning 'porcelain' should be removed from under *losa*). 154, 4, *corro*, 'group'. 175, 11, *previo*, 'presupposing'. 175, 12, *orientarse*, 'to find one's bearings'. 186, 1, *mentado*, 'famous'. 188, 21 and 193, 18, *fiel*, 'faithful'. 191, 19, *celaje*, 'cloud'. 193, 21, *plan*, 'plain' (a rare meaning). 194, 28, *peón*, 'laborer'. 196, 2, *tras*, 'behind'. 198, 12, *tascar*, 'to champ'.

In the following cases the second important member of a phrase is omitted from the vocabulary, the whole phrase being given under the first member. Both words should have a place in the vocabulary. 83, 1, *empotrada en un poyo*; 144, 8, *timbales de macarrones*; 157, 17, *columnilla salomónica*; 164, 3, *ropas de desperdicio*; 169, 20, *pan de munición*; 170, 6, *abrir en canal*; 190, 3, *cuadras planas*.

Additions and corrections: 1, 2, *Elias*, 'Elijah'. 30, 5, *burro mohino*, 'hinny'. 79, 1, *Dos Hermanas*; there should be an item concerning the location of this village, made famous by the third



act of *El Burlador de Sevilla*. 107, 4, *cubrir el expediente*, 'to save appearances'; not 'to cloak over the affair'. 107, 21, *tumbarse*, 'to lodge or be lodged'. 117, 8, *vino moro*; the origin of the meaning 'pure wine' should be explained. 157, 12, *sillería*, 'choir-stalls'. 173, 2, *trincar*, 'to drink' (cf. above under *Notes*). 173, 9-10, *solfejar á leña*, rather 'to cudgel' than 'to beat into kindling-wood'. 182, 22, *entregada*, 'bound-girl'. 185, 28; does *poner verde á alguno* mean 'to accuse one of perversity' or rather 'to flay, scold severely'? 190, 7, *patillas*, 'side-whiskers'. 191, 20, *agasajo*, 'gift'. 194, 18, *cigarro*, 'cigarette'.

*Misprints*. xiii, 7 from below, *Trafálgar*, read *Trafalgar*. xvi, 10, read *La hermana San Sulpicio*. 36, 22, *a*, read *á*. 37, 16, *sera*, read *será*. 43, 24, *Como*, read *Cómo*. 49, 27, *que*, read *qué*. 80, 3, *árabes*; read *árabes*. 95, 2, *propria*, read *propia*. 132, 13, *mi*, read *mí*. 134, 1, omit *de*. 173, 28, *qualquiera*, read *cualquiera*. 191, 3, *arteza*, read *artesa*. 195, 15, *castilla*, read *Castilla*. In the Vocabulary, under *bachiller*, for *de humanidades* read *en humanidades* (192, 7). Under *Genieys*, for *Aviron* read *Aveyron*.

This is certainly one of the most scholarly and best edited collections of miscellaneous short stories now accessible for advanced reading.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

University of Colorado.

*The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by FREDERICK TUPPER, JR., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of Vermont. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1910. The Albion Series. Pp. cxi + 292.

This volume, the latest addition to the Albion Series, is the first separate edition of an extremely difficult text. Since the publication of Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), however, the Riddles have been the subject of many studies, so that this edition has been preceded by much clearing of the ground. Professor Tupper's own preliminary studies for this edition, comprise articles in *Modern Language Notes*, xviii, 1-8, 97-106;

xxi, 97-105; *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xviii, 211-272; and *Modern Philology*, ii, 561-572; and his supplementary article in *Modern Language Notes*, xxv, 235-241, "The Cynewulfian Runes of the First Riddle." To these will hardly be denied the chief importance among the preceding contributions, being entitled to this place by reason of their scientific method, their painstaking thoroughness, and their fruitfulness.

The text here offered presents advantages over that of previous editions. Accuracy has been obtained by first-hand examination of the manuscript. The editor has also been able to diminish to some extent the *lacunae* in the damaged portions of the text, for since the manuscript had been last collated the strips of vellum pasted over the manuscript at such places have become loosened, and it has been found possible to read some letters previously concealed. Further, the readings in some places now illegible have been recovered from the transcript, hitherto unaccountably neglected, made in 1831-1832, and preserved in the British Museum. On the other hand, Professor Tupper has carefully refrained from accepting or proposing conjectures prompted by any predetermined notion of a solution or by any *a priori* metrical theory. Readers will recall his vigorous protest against text-tinkering in *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxv, 164-181.

The editor gives (in indexes) all the solutions that have at any time been proposed. He gives a number of new solutions of his own; e. g., to *Riddles* 14, 74, and 95, previously published, and to 20, 37, 40, 42, 56, and 71. In arriving at these solutions, and in deciding between divergent solutions offered by others, he has followed the obviously correct principle that the answer to an eighth-century riddle is not necessarily to be obtained by making the guess that seems best to a twentieth-century reader, but is rather to be reached by acquainting oneself with the entire mass of riddle-literature extant at that time and with folk-riddles of later date. In this way the investigator acquires the point of view of the people among whom these riddles circulated. The best aid to the understanding of these old riddles is a knowledge of the customary *motifs* of



the Latin riddles that preceded them, and of the answer to be expected when this or that attribute is ascribed to the unknown *x* of the riddle. It is Professor Tupper's wide reading in the Latin riddles beginning with Symphosius and in folk-riddles, and his constant adherence to sound principles in applying this reading, that give his solutions an authority beyond that of guesses, however shrewd.

The edition is generously annotated. As the subjects of these poems, that is, the answers to the riddles, include weapons, garments, musical instruments, sacred utensils, articles of food and drink, beasts, birds, fishes, insects, trees, and plants, the editor has embraced the occasion to give ample information drawn from writings, museum objects, and manuscript illustrations of the Old English period, and from modern treatises.

At the time of publishing this edition Professor Tupper accepted the view propounded by Mr. Henry Bradley, that *Riddle 1* is not a riddle but an epic fragment. With this premise he concluded, as the result of a very minute study (pp. lxiii-lxxix) that the *Riddles*, with the exception of 36, 41, and 67, are the work of one author, a Northumbrian, not Cynewulf, and perhaps of the first half of the eighth century, this date, however, being "an inviting surmise, unsustained by proof." The argument for unity of authorship is especially well presented. The differences in language between the *Riddles* and the poems containing the runic signature of Cynewulf are declared to have little value as evidence, either singly or in combination. In the sentence on page lix, "On account of the many noteworthy differences between the speech of the problems [*Riddles*] and that of Cynewulf, he [Madert] reaches the conclusion . . . that these poems are not the work of that writer," the word "noteworthy" must be taken as a quasi-quotation from Madert, not as an indication of the editor's own opinion. The one difference from recognized Cynewulfian usage which is offered without any impugning of its merit as evidence is the occurrence, noted by Herzfeld, of a stressed short syllable in the second foot of type A, when no secondary stress precedes. Of this sixteen instances are cited (p. lx, note \*). Yet we are told (p.

lix), "The evidence of meter, language, and style certainly speaks against the theory of Cynewulfian authorship." This must now seem to the editor to have been incautious, but apart from this sentence, it would be hard to find anything of which he need repent, although in his subsequent article, already cited, he has changed his opinion completely with regard to a point fundamental to the whole question of authorship, namely, the nature and interpretation of *Riddle 1*. It is the irony of fate that this discovery should have been made too late to be incorporated in the present volume. Professor Tupper now finds in *Riddle 1* a charade *Cyn-wulf*, and also a runic acrostic in the order FNLCYWU, the runes being represented by synonyms of their names (*lāc* = *feoh* = *F*; *ðrēat* = *nȳd* = *N*; etc.). Thus Cynewulf, like Aldhelm, has announced at the beginning his authorship of the series of riddles. Professor Tupper shows that, intricate and far-fetched as the solution appears, it is no stranger than what we encounter in authentic Icelandic acrostics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The difficulty of *Riddle 1* is thus not like that of an ordinary riddle, where any one can see the appropriateness of the answer, once it is known, but like that of a mathematical problem, in which the difficulty persists even though the result to be attained is known.

The glossary omits *ðēana* (59. 13; 88. 10), *hangellan* (45. 6), and *wifum* (26. 1).

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*Practical Lessons in French Grammar*, by TH. COLIN and A. SÉRAFON. Boston, New York, Chicago, Sanborn & Co., 1910. 16mo., xiv + 354 pp.<sup>1</sup>

This new French grammar contains much that is commendable and evidences the authors' thorough knowledge of American class-room and college-entrance requirements. It never loses sight of the fact that French is a living language, to be spoken and written by the student, not merely to be read and translated. The texts, generally connected narratives, on which the oral and written

<sup>1</sup>This review is based on a revised and corrected edition, with the same imprint, but issued in 1911.

exercises are based, are interesting, well-chosen, and well-graded, and should give the student a most serviceable working vocabulary. The provision made for "original composition" is a valuable feature. The "facts of the language" are often presented with felicitous originality, *e. g.*, partitive expressions, p. 83; inflection of regular verbs, p. 254, etc.

In the hope that a third edition will further perfect a book which will undoubtedly find many friends, the following remarks and suggestions are offered.

In spite of the thorough revision of the chapter on pronunciation in the second edition, much remains to be added. Moreover, greater care should be exercised in the choice of examples: *musée, vie, bleue, joue*, etc., are unsatisfactory examples for long vowels. In spite of note 3, the lengthening of final vowels by a following silent *e* is generally considered a dialect characteristic,<sup>2</sup> and *berger* seems to have even less justification. The definition "*r . . . [is] either trilled or uvular*," makes a misleading confusion between place and manner of articulation. Each *r* can be trilled or untrilled.

Among the rules for syllabication, p. xxxiii, some statement concerning cases like *es-pèce, es-time, res-te*, is imperative; otherwise, students do not understand why these *e*'s take no accent, while one is required in words like *é-change, rè-gne*, etc. The function of accent-marks is so important and their use is so intimately connected with the so-called irregularities of French inflection that they deserve more attention than is here accorded.

The avoiding of hiatus is given undue prominence in the chapter on euphony. One might contend that even the elision of articles is not the result of an aversion to hiatus in the language. And if, *e. g.*, the *t* in *a-t-elle* were imperatively demanded by "euphony," why not also in the case of *à elle, à eux*? The false point of view entails actual error in the statement (p. xxiii, 48) that adjectives like *beau, fou*, "have a second masculine form to be used before a vowel or an

*h*-mute." Since a knowledge of the alternation between *l* and *u* before consonants (and the peculiar use of a final *x* after *u*) would enable the students to understand not only these adjectives, but also contraction of articles, almost all irregular plurals and many irregular verb-forms, they seem entitled to it. The brief allusion (p. 25 N. B.) to the *el, ol* forms as "*old*," whereas they have first been designated as "*second*," can but confuse the students.

The whole treatment of the modes and tenses would be materially improved by a thorough revision. Only a few of the remarks that might be made can find a place here.

Conditional sentences are not adequately treated. They fully deserve a chapter to themselves. It is difficult to understand the necessity for the statement, p. 128, "that the subjunctive is never used in an *if*-clause," since no class can do the required reading without coming across numerous examples of pluperfect subjunctives so used. This erroneous statement is not remedied by the footnote, p. 201, "*avoir* and *être* have a literary conditional which has the same force as the imperfect subjunctive." But "*il eût fait fortune*" is not the imperfect subjunctive of *avoir*; it is the pluperfect subjunctive of *faire*. This same confusion between the tense of the auxiliary and the complete verb is found, p. 137, 126, where "when you *have* finished" is given as an example of an English *present* substituted for a French *future*. Moreover, the tendency to consider compound tenses as a subordinate variety of the simple tenses is noticeable elsewhere. On pages 144 and 145, a note assigns the uses of the imperfect to the pluperfect, and a brief remark assigns the uses of the past definite to the past anterior. The one example of the pluperfect, p. 144, "*des oiseaux qu'elles avaient pris*" cannot, however, be explained by any of the statements found there. The idea of action (or state) in continuation in the past which is fundamental and constant with the imperfect, is "accidental" with the pluperfect (cp. "*il avait tué son ennemi du premier coup*," and "*il avait dormi toute la nuit*"), and will greatly depend on the "*Aktionsart*" of the verb, and on the context. The "constant" with the pluperfect is the idea of completion prior to a past point of time. Moreover, the idea of

<sup>2</sup>See, *e. g.*, Beyer, *Französische Phonetik*, p. 104 Anm.; Michaelis and Passy, *Dictionnaire Phonétique*, p. 313 and 316 (where this peculiarity is ascribed to Swiss and Belgian pronunciation).

"duration prior to completion" sometimes conveyed by the pluperfect, is different from the idea of "progressive stage" from a past standpoint, with no thought of completion, expressed by the imperfect. They should not be confused.

In the table on p. 239, no place is provided for the French "future-to-a-past," (il dit *qu'il viendrait*) a frequent and most important tense-use, which certainly deserves as much recognition as the English "progressive" conjugation.

Finally, the remark can be made that while the general arrangement of the conjugation of verbs is one of the attractive features of the book, the absorption of *-oir* verbs by the irregular *-ir* verbs is not to be commended. Historically, it is not justifiable and, practically, the students should not be misled into considering *-oir* the equivalent of *ir*.

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Chicago.

*La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age*, par CH. V. LANGLOIS. Paris, Hachette, 1911. 12mo., xxiv + 400 pp.

This volume is the third and last of a series, of which the first and second have been reviewed in these columns.<sup>1</sup> The general plan of the author is to make known, as he says in his preface to the present work, *par une méthode nouvelle*, certain special phases of medieval French history, and of the thirteenth century in particular, which the lettered public knows least about.

There are six chapters in the book, having to do respectively with these authors and subjects: Philippe de Thaon's *Lapidaire* and *Bestiaire*; the *Image du Monde*; Barthélemy l'Anglais; le *Roman de Sidrach*; Placides et Timeo and le *Livre du Trésor*. The volume closes with a bibliography of modern studies on nature phenomena in the literatures of the Middle Ages.

The method of demonstration employed by M. Langlois is not an entirely new one. The original element of his work lies in the peculiarly ingenious way he has of adapting his data, under one cover, to the needs of the scholar and the layman. There is an abridged rendering into modern French of each medieval text, which affords material, for the general reader, of even greater interest than that contained in the two volumes previously published in this series. By this means, the author makes clear to men of the present day what ideas concerning the physical world existed in the minds of thoughtful men in the Middle Ages—men who were cultivated and intelligent although unfa-

miliar with the higher researches in this realm of speculation. The point therefore of this work is not to give a history of the sciences and their development in the thirteenth century, but to pass in review those writings, in the vernacular, on natural phenomena which aimed to popularize the sciences or reproduced the common beliefs of men with reference to nature.

The author has thought it undesirable to take account of medieval compilations in Latin such as those of Neckam, Albertus Magnus, and Vincent of Beauvais, ill-suited to the general needs of the age owing to their vastness and technical character. The French adaptors or translators of less involved writings such as the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius took occasion to add to the original certain ideas and reflections of their own in conformity with those of the French readers for whom they wrote. It was French versions of this type which gave nearly all classes of men, from the time of Saint Louis up to the sixteenth century, an opportunity to learn about the world. On account of these considerations, M. Langlois has chosen for his volume the five principal French encyclopaedias mentioned above, together with the two works of Philippe de Thaon. The work of Barthélemy l'Anglais: *De proprietatibus rerum*, divided into nineteen books, although translated into French by Jehan de Corbechon only in 1372, is included in this volume on account of the prodigious vogue it enjoyed in France in the thirteenth century. The synopsis in modern French of Barthélemy, given by M. Langlois, shows, as well as any writing can, the crudity and weirdness of medieval thought when compared with the ordinary every-day knowledge in modern times of biology, physics and astronomy, and, in particular, of geography. The analysis of the *Roman de Sidrach* produces a similar effect with its strangely confused notions about ethics and theology. Almost the same thing might be said of the *Livre du Trésor*, although Brunetto is a more cautious writer and refrains from many of the absurdities incident to this class of literature.

Each chapter has a preface in which M. Langlois gives especial evidence of the technical erudition which characterizes all his work; the preface to the *Image du Monde* treats of the three redactions of this famous work and gives many important data concerning authorship and other problems of a philological character. The discussion upon the nationality of Barthélemy and the question as to who was the French author of the book of Sidrach are carefully outlined, with the various opinions of authorities quoted and fairly considered so as to give as complete a treatment of the problems as possible.

Of the six writers analyzed in the volume,

<sup>1</sup> XIX, 134-136; XXIII, 249-251.



only two have been made accessible to the student in modern editions, so that the present work of M. Langlois will hold its place for some time to come as an authoritative book of reference in this field.

F. L. CRITCHLOW.

Princeton University.

With regal ornament ; the middle pair  
  round  
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold  
And colors dipt in heaven.  
                                Like Maia's son he stood,  
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled  
The circuit wide." (*Paradise Lost*, v, 278 ff.)

C. H. IBERSHOFF.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

## THOUGHT AND AFTERTHOUGHT IN BROWNING'S

### Paracelsus

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—I have drawn attention, in your columns and elsewhere, to the influence exercised by Elizabeth Barrett upon Robert Browning, especially in the deepening and clarifying of his religious convictions. I should like to add to my argument a stray fact, which may be regarded by some as merely a curious coincidence, but seems to me of greater significance. In *Paracelsus*, Book II, after the lines 648–9, spoken by Aprile :

Yes; I see now. God is the PERFECT POET,  
Who in His person acts His own creations.

Browning added in the edition of 1849 the following passage :

Shall Man refuse to be ought less than God?  
Man's weakness is his glory—for the strength  
Which raises him to heaven and near God's self  
Came spite of it; God's strength his glory is,  
For thence came with our weakness sympathy  
Which brought God down to earth, a man like us.

In the edition of 1863, the interpolation was suppressed. The addition and the omission are alike noteworthy, I think. I am indebted for the textual information to the edition of Browning's *Paracelsus* recently published in London by Miss Margaret L. Lee and Miss Katharine B. Locock.

J. W. CUNLIFFE.

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## A NEGLECTED KLOPSTOCK-MILTON PARALLEL

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—The following parallel has, I believe, escaped the notice of the commentators of Klopstock. Of the angel Chebar we read (*Messias*, XII, 510 ff.):

“ Ihm sanken herab, wie Schatten, die Flügel,  
Ohne zu tönen, and ohne zu duften des ewigen Frühlings  
Süsse Gerüche, nicht mehr mit des Himmels Bläue  
beströmet,  
Triefend nicht mehr von goldenen Tropfen.”

This is clearly reminiscent of the angel Raphael of whom Milton sings :

“the pair [*sc.* of wings] that clad  
Each shoulder broad came mantling o’er his breast

## BRIEF MENTION

*A Study of Words*, by E. M. Blackburn, M. A. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1911), is a student's dictionary of English words, with concise definitions arranged in the order of the development of meaning from the primary or radical significance, which is made clear by a brief indication of the etymology. In other words, it is a concise, etymological dictionary, constructed with special reference to the clear apprehension of the exact meaning and the approved use of words. But it is the wish of the compiler to have his book taken to be not a dictionary but a method of studying words deductively, starting with the derivation and proceeding thence through meanings. The method is illustrated in the preface by the series of meanings carried by the word *pitch*. It is not well to omit the etymology of a word when it is doubtful, for the conjectured source is usually arrived at by specially careful study. In the case of *pitch*, the etymology is, however, omitted, and there is no suggestion of a connection with *pike* and *peak* (altho *peek* is referred to in the preface, it is not found in the body of the work). It is doubtful whether this dictionary fills a want. Its limitations are disappointing: "Many common words, and most uncommon ones, have been omitted, and the rarer words of other languages than ours have been avoided. Sometimes derivation without meaning is given, and sometimes meaning without derivation. In cases of doubtful origin, not more than one explanation is offered, and alternative possibilities are not discussed."

No doubt will be entertained of the usefulness of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Adapted by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler from *The Oxford Dictionary* (Clarendon Press, 1911). This is a marvel of condensation, accomplished by skilful hands and with the laudable purpose of putting the average man into possession of a large portion of the extraordinary work of the editors of the great *Oxford Dictionary*. As a dictionary for the school-satchel this handy volume far surpasses all others in fulness and accuracy.



# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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